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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

FORTHCOMING PUBLIC LECTURES.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made for the delivery of the following lectures during the ensuing session of 1921-22. This is the twentieth annual series of public lectures to be so arranged.

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 12th October, 1921. "Autobiography in the 'Divina Commedia'." By Edmund G. Gardner, Litt.D., Professor of Italian Studies in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th November, 1921. "The Study of Mediæval Chronicles." By T. F. Tout, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th December, 1921. "The Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th January, 1922. "The Portrait of a Roman Gentleman from Livy." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th February, 1922. "Lessing." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Emeritus Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th March, 1922. "Euripides' 'Alcestis': an Interpretative Recital." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 15th November, 1921. "House Moving: a Tract for the Times." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 17th January, 1922. "Consider the Lilies." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

Tuesday, 14th February, 1922. "The Reversal of Erroneous World-Judgments." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

Tuesday, 7th March, 1922. "Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' and its Traditional Misinterpretation." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

LOUVAIN LIBRARY RECONSTRUCTION.

Since the publication of our last report of progress regarding the Louvain Library Scheme of Reconstruction, which appeared in January last, a further consignment of 2363 volumes has been dispatched, making an aggregate total of 38,002 volumes actually transferred to Louvain, to the great joy and relief of the Rector, the Staff, and the Students of the University. In their name, we take this opportunity of again thanking the donors, whose names are included in the accompanying list, for their generous and welcome gifts which have made possible the achievement of this result.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

(The figures in brackets represent the number of volumes contributed.)

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Messrs. SHERRATT AND HUGHES, Manchester. (93)
In memory of the late William Henry Smith, Esq., M.P., 186 Strand, and Bournemouth. (8)
HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE. (L. W. Hill, Esq., Director of Publications.) (207)
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FOUNDATION STONE OF NEW LIBRARY TO BE LAID.

We are glad to be able to announce that the foundation stone of the new library building, which is to replace the one so wantonly destroyed by the Germans in 1914, is to be laid on Thursday, the 28th of July, in the presence of His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, and Monsieur Raymond Poincaré, Ex-President of the French Republic. The writer hopes to assist at this interesting ceremony, as the representative, not only of the Governors of the John Rylands Library, but also of the many contributors in all parts of the world, who so

readily co-operated with us in our efforts to assist the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war. We shall take the opportunity of congratulating the Rector, Monsignor Ladeuze, in their name, upon what we venture to describe as "this happy issue out of all their afflictions," and also of expressing to him the hope that the future history of the University may be still richer and more glorious than its memorable past.

Singularly appropriate, and even prophetic, were the words which stood inscribed over the principal entrance to the University Halls: "SAPIENTIA ÆDIFICAVIT SIBI DOMUM," and it is to be hoped that the same words embodying as they do a confession of the faith which sustained our friends throughout the years of their exile, will be given a prominent place over the main portal of the new library.

COMMEMORATION OF DANTE'S DEATH IN 1321.

The six-hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante, which took place at Ravenna on the 14th September, 1321, is being commemorated this year, with appropriate veneration throughout the entire world of letters. In Manchester, the commemoration has taken the form of an exhibition of the poet's work in the main reading-room of this library. It is intended to serve the two-fold purpose of rendering homage to the most eminent of Italy's sons, and at the same time of directing attention to the wealth of material which is here available for the study of his immortal works, comprising as it does five manuscripts and upwards of 6000 printed volumes.

Of the five manuscripts, three are exhibited: a copy of the "Canzoni" written in the latter part of the fourteenth century, which is ornamented with large initial letters and illuminated borders enclosing portraits of Dante and his inamorata; a copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the date 1416, containing a number of variants from the common text, made by B. Landi de Landis, of Prato; and a sixteenth century copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the "Credo" and other poems at the end, which at one time was in the possession of Cavaliere S. Kirkup.

Of the printed editions there are the three earliest folios of the "Divina Commedia," printed in the same year (1472) at Foligno, Mantua, and Jesi respectively. The only serious gap in the collection is the fourth folio, undated, which issued from the press of Francesco del

Tuppo, at Naples, between the years 1473 and 1475. This edition is of extreme rarity, not more than three or four copies having survived. With this exception, the entire range of the early and the principal critical editions of the text of Dante's poem is represented, those of outstanding importance being included in the exhibition.

Of the first illustrated edition, which has also the distinction of being the only one printed in Florence during the fifteenth century, there are two copies shown, one containing twenty of the engravings, said to have been executed by Baccio Baldini after Botticelli. Of the Venetian illustrated editions there is a full range commencing with that of March, 1491. On many of the illustrations of this edition the same small "b" is found, which occurs in several other Venetian books, including the famous "Hypnerotomachia," printed by Aldus in 1499, and which may stand for the name of the designer, the engraver, or for the workshop in which they were engraved.

Amongst the many other editions exhibited is that printed at Venice in 1555, which has the distinction of being the first edition in which the epithet "Divina" is applied to the "Commedia". Dante himself was spoken of as the "divino poeta Fiorentino," long before the epithet "divina" was applied to his poem.

One of the outstanding volumes in the exhibition is the monumental folio edition of the entire "Opere" of Dante, printed on vellum at the Ashendene Press of Mr. St. John Hornby, in 1909.

The occasion was further marked by the holding of a combined meeting of the British-Italian League and the Manchester Dante Society, in the conference room of the Library, on Wednesday the 20th of April. In the unavoidable absence of the President (the Bishop of Salford) Professor C. H. Herford presided over a gathering of upwards of a hundred Dante enthusiasts, and an address was given by the Librarian on "Dante as viewed from the bibliographer's standpoint".

The exhibition will remain on view until the beginning of September, when it will be replaced by one of a more general character, with the object of conveying some idea of the range and importance of the library's collections of manuscripts and printed books.

It should be stated, however, that the primary purpose of the projected exhibition is to signalize the visit to the library of members of the Library Association, on the occasion of the holding of their annual conference in Manchester.

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE.

Twenty-two years have elapsed since the Library Association last held its conference in this city, in September, 1899, just a month before the formal dedication of this library to public use, which took place on the 6th of October. At the time it was greatly regretted that the building could not be ready for opening until a month after the Library Association's annual meeting had taken place.

It is true that many members of the Association honoured us by assisting at the dedication ceremony, but the Association as a body has not hitherto been formally welcomed to the library.

Arrangements are being made, however, for members of the conference to be received by the Chairman (Sir Henry Miers, F.R.S.) and the Governors of the Library, during the afternoon of Tuesday, the 13th of September, when every facility will be given to them for inspecting the building and its equipment, including the recently erected wing with its enamelled steel stack, and also the special exhibition which is to be arranged for the occasion.

DR. RENDEL HARRIS ON MARCION OF PONTUS.

In the present issue Dr. Rendel Harris makes another of his identifications in the region of lost literature connected with the early Christian Church. Dry bones are his speciality, but this time they are resurrected as well as dry. Dr. Harris, whose art is to make dry bones live, thinks that he has found a great fragment of the work of Marcion of Pontus (the Pontic wolf of the early fathers) in which he showed the inconsistency between the Old and New Testaments, between the God of Law and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. If Dr. Harris has hit the mark the wolf is not such a bad wolf as he has traditionally been represented.

We may look for some more discoveries before long from the same diligent excavator.

PROHIBITIVE COST OF BOOK PRODUCTION.

We desire to associate ourselves with the appeal which was made recently in the columns of "The Times," by the secretaries of the Historical Association, the Early English Text Society, and other kindred learned societies, together with the librarians of great libraries which are unsupported by state funds, to the printing and publishing trade, urging them to bring down the cost of book-production so that valuable contributions to scholarship may not be starved out of existence.

It is admitted on all hands that the general economic conditions are improving, and it is not unreasonable therefore to ask that the improvement may be reflected in the cost of book-production.

It must be quite obvious that the printing and publishing trades themselves will be the sufferers if books of real scholarship and research are no longer issued.

To our personal knowledge the committee of one of the University Presses have been compelled reluctantly to decline, or indefinitely to postpone, the publication of works embodying results of scholarship of far-reaching importance, simply on account of the prohibitive cost of production.

The remedy lies with the trade, both masters and men, and unless there is an immediate and a substantial reduction in prices, the result is likely to be disastrous to them.

At the best of times books embodying the result of long and valuable work in scientific and historical research have been very costly to produce, and as they do not make any popular appeal they have comparatively few purchasers. It is none the less of importance that they should be published in order to preserve the results of such research for the world.

DANTE ALIGHIERI.

1321-1921.

AN APPRECIATION: IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SIX-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POET'S DEATH.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT was at Ravenna, on the 14th day of September, 1321, that Dante "rendered up to his Creator his toilworn spirit," in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

He was buried with great honour in the Franciscan Church of San Pier Maggiore (now the Chiesa di San Francesco), by his friend, a noble knight named Guido Novello da Polenta, nephew of Francesca da Rimini, whose intention it was to erect a sumptuous tomb to his memory. Unfortunately, Dante's patron and admirer was soon afterwards betrayed and driven from Ravenna, losing thereby his estates and his life, so that his project was for the time defeated.

A century and a half later, however, in 1483 to be exact, Bernardo Bembo, the father of the celebrated cardinal, gave effect to the design by commissioning a superb monument, the work of the artist Pietro Lombardi bearing the following inscription, by some authorities said to have been dictated by Dante on his death-bed, or to be based upon some earlier epitaph, perhaps the original one referred to.

(The accompanying paraphrase is by James Russell Lowell.)

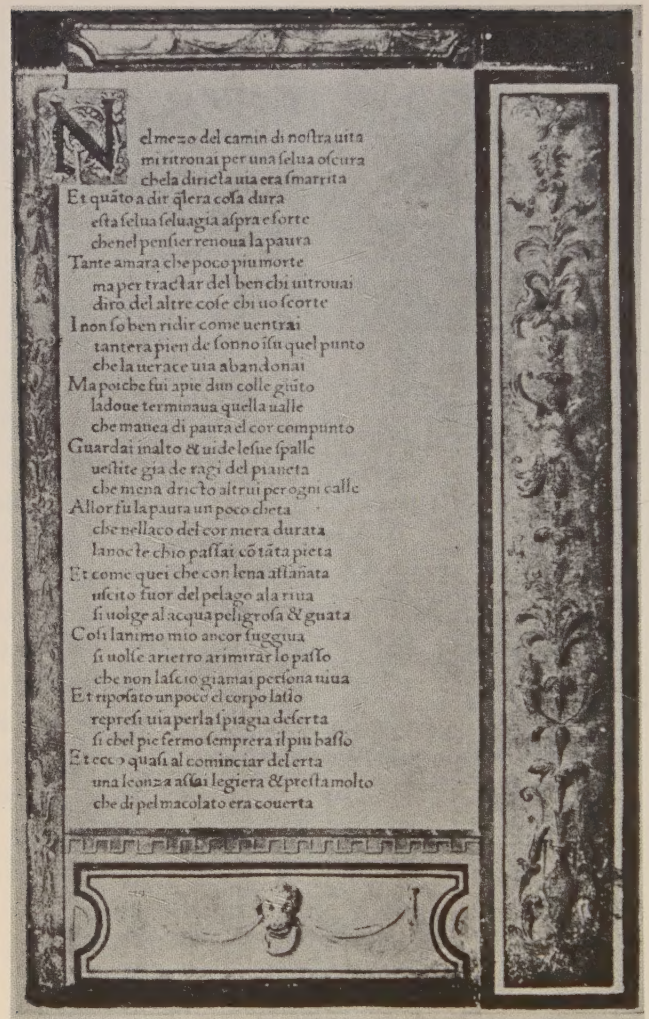
Jvra monarchiæ Svperos Phlegethonta lacvsqve
Lvstrando cecini volvervnt Fata qvovsqve
Sed qvia pars cessit melioribvs hospita castris
Avctqremqve svvm petiit felicior astris
Hic clavdor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris
Qvem genvit parvi Florentia mater amoris.

The rights of Monarchy, the Heavens, the Stream of Life, the Pit,
In vision seen, I sang as far as to the Fates seemed fit;
But since my soul, an alien here, hath flown to nobler wars,
And, happier now, hath gone to seek its Maker 'mid the stars,
Here am I Dante shut, exiled from the ancestral shore,
Whom Florence, the of all least-loving mother, bore.

DANTIS ALIGERII POETAE FLORENTINI INFERNI CAPITVLVM PRIMVM INCIPIT.

NEl mezzo del chamin di nostra uita
mistrouai per una selua schura
chella diritta uia era smarita
Ah quanto achar qual era echosa dura
questa selua seluagia aspra e forte
che nel pensier rinnoua la paura
Tanto e amara che poco e piu morte
ma per trattar delben chio mi trouai
dirò dellaltre chose chio uidi sorte
I non so ben ridire chomo uentrai
tanto era pien di sonno in su quel punto
chella uerachie uia abandonai
Ma poi chio fui al pie dun chol le giunto
La oue terminaua quella ualle
che mauea di paura ristucr chompunto
Guardai in alto e uidi le sue spalle
uestite gia di ragi del pianeta
che mena dritto altrui per ogni challe
Allor fu la paura unpoche cheta
chenellaghe del chuor mera durata
la notte chi passai chontanta pieta
E chome quei che con lena affannata
uscito fuor del pelagho ala riua
Tuolgie alacqua perigliosa e guata
Chosi lanimo mio chanchor fuggiua
si uolse indrieto arrimirar il passo
che non lasscio gia mai persona uiua
Poi chebbi riposato il chorpo lasso
ripresi uia per la piagia diserta
si chel pie fermo sempre ra il piu basso
E echo quasi al chominciar dellerta
una leonza legiera e presta molto
che di pel machulato era choperta
E nonsi partia dinanzi al uolto
anzi impedriua tanto il mio chammino
chi fui per ritornare piu uolte uolto
Tempo era del principio del matino
el sol montaua insu chon quelle stelle
cheran chollui quando lamor diuino
Mosse di prima quelle chose belle
sicchabene sperar mera chagione
di quella fiera lagaieta pelle
Lera del tempo ella dolcie stagione
ma non si che paura non mi desse
la uista che mapparue dun lione
Questi parea che chontro a me uenisse
cholla testa alta e chon rabiosa fame
si che parea chelaire netemesse
E dunalupa che di tutte brame
sembiaua charcha nella sua magreza
e molte genti fe gia uiuer grame
Questa mi porse tanto digraueza
chella paura chuscita di sua uista
chio perdei la speranza dellalteza
E quale equel che uolontieri acquista
e giungie il tempo che perder le faccie
chentuti i suoi pensier piangie estrista
Tal mi fecie la bestia sanza pacie
che uenendomi achontro apocho apocho
mi ripingiea la doue il sol tacie
Mentre chio ruinaua inbasso locho
dinanzi mi si fu offerto
che per lungo silenzio parea fiocho
Quando uidi chestui nel gran diserto
miserere dime gridai allui
qual chetu sia oombra ohomo certo

DANTE: "COMMEDIA". MANTUA, 1472.
(From the copy in the John Rylands Library.)



Nel mezo del camin di nostra uita
mi ritrouai per una selua oscura
chela dirieta uia era smarrita
Et quãto a dir qãl era cosa dura
esta selua seluagia aspra e forte
chenel pensier renoua la paura
Tante amara che poco piu morte
ma per tractar del ben chi uitrouai
diro del altre cose chi uo scorte
I non so ben ridir come uentrai
tantera pien de sonno issu quel punto
che la uerace uia abandonai
Ma poi che fui apie dun colle giũto
ladoue terminaua quella ualle
che mauea di paura el cor compunto
Guardai inalto & uide lesue spalle
uestite gia de ragi del pianeta
che mena dricto altrui per ogni calle
Allor fu la paura un poco cheta
che nellaco del cor mera durata
lanocte chio passai cõtãta pieta
Et come quei che con lena affannata
uscito fuor del pelago ala riua
si uolge al acqua perigrosa & guata
Cosi lanimo mio ancor fuggiua
si uolse arietro arimirar lo passo
che non lascio giamai persona uiua
Et ripossato un poco el corpo lasso
represi uia per la spiagia deserta
si chel pie fermo semprera il piu basso
Et ecco quasi al cominciar del erta
una leonza assai legiera & presta molto
che di pel macolato era couerta

DANTE: "COMMEDIA". JESI, 1472.
(From the copy in the John Rylands Library.)

These Latin lines have been regarded by some writers as unworthy of Dante, just as Shakespeare's doggerel English epitaph has been thought unworthy of him. On the other hand, the rudeness of the verses has been put forward as a proof of their authenticity in both cases.

The Bembo tomb was restored by Cardinal Domenico Maria Corsi, the Papal Legate in 1692, and finally rebuilt in its present form by Cardinal Gonzaga, in 1780, each of whom in turn commemorated themselves in Latin inscriptions. It is a little shrine covered with a dome, not unlike the tomb of a Mohammedan Saint, and is now the chief Mecca which attracts pilgrims to Ravenna.

It follows then, that the present year, 1921, marks the six-hundredth anniversary of this outstanding event, and by reason of the prominent and honoured place which Dante occupies upon the shelves of this library, we claim the privilege of collaborating with Italy in commemorating the death of the most eminent of her many brilliant sons, by adding our modest tribute of homage to the countless number of similar tributes of more enduring worth which will be offered at the shrine of his genius during this anniversary year.

In the course of the six centuries that have elapsed since Dante's death men of great and enduring talent of all nationalities have helped to swell his praise and to immortalize his fame.

In this country, especially during the last hundred years, the study and appreciation of Dante has been second only to the homage of his own countrymen. Two of our greatest poets, the one living in the fourteenth and the other in the seventeenth century, both exercising an enormous influence on their own and succeeding generations, were diligent students of Dante and transfused into their work much of the form and spirit of the "Commedia". In the "Canterbury Tales," and in "Paradise Lost," there are many passages which would have been impossible but for the influence of Dante. It was a proof of Chaucer's critical judgment that he calls Dante "the great poet of Itaille". And yet, after being canonized, as it were, by Chaucer and by Milton, Dante was allowed to sink into an oblivion of forgetfulness, by the neglect of almost all Tuscan literature among English readers, down to some hundred and twenty years ago. It is true that he was mentioned from time to time, but mostly from hearsay only; Spenser shows that he read his works closely; Sackville may

have read the "Inferno"; and it is certain that Sir John Harington had done so. He has had, however, a noble revenge; Shelley, Byron and Tennyson have led him back with chants of recognition; Carlyle and Ruskin have set forth his praise in impassioned prose; Boyd, Cary, Longfellow, Okey, Plumptre, Norton, Stanley, Shadwell, Wright and Wicksteed have translated him; whilst a host of other scholars such as Coleridge, Vernon, Moore, Gardner, and Toynbee have made Dante more widely known to English readers by commenting upon and elucidating the works of the poet.

To Ruskin Dante was the "central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest". To Carlyle his book was the sincerest of all poems; "he was the spokesman of the middle ages; the thought they lived by stands here in everlasting music; his 'Divine Comedy' is the most remarkable of all modern books; and one need not wonder if it were predicted that his poem might be the most enduring thing our Europe has yet made".

Among the more recent of the offerings at the shrine of Dante's genius we cannot refrain from quoting the ode written by Tennyson at the request of the Florentines in 1865, on the six-hundredth anniversary of his birth :—

> King that has reign'd six hundred years, and grown
> In power, and ever growest, since thine own
> Fair Florence, honouring thy nativity,
> Hath sought the tribute of a verse from me,
> I, wearing but the garland of a day,
> Cast at thy feet one flower that fades away.

What was true in 1865 has become more true to-day, for the realm of the poetic monarch has grown still greater both in power and in extent.

Many attempts have been made to account for this supremacy of what may be termed the Dante cult, and to determine what were the abiding qualities of genius which have secured for Dante the fame he has won and worn for six hundred years, and which give him to-day a claim for such study as only a few world classics deserve.

James Russell Lowell, in that remarkable essay of his entitled "Dante," written in 1872, which Dr. Wicksteed describes as: "a sufficient introduction to the study of Dante, and by far the best thing

on the subject in English"; and which Professor C. E. Norton also refers to as: "the best introduction to the study of the 'Divine Comedy,' which should be read and re-read," asserts that: "Almost all poets have their seasons, but Dante penetrates to the moral core of those who once fairly come within his sphere, and possesses them wholly. His readers turn students, his students zealots, and what was a taste becomes a religion." " . . . if Shakespeare be the most comprehensive intellect, Dante is the highest spiritual nature that has expressed itself in rhythmical form. Had he made us feel how petty the ambitions, sorrows, and vexations of each appear when looked down on from the heights of our own character and the seclusion of our own genius, or from the region where we commune with God, he had done much. . . . But he has done far more; he has shown us the way by which that country far beyond the stars may be reached, may become the habitual dwelling place and fortress of our nature, instead of being the object of its vague aspiration in moments of indolence."

In another passage Lowell declares that "among literary fames Dante finds only two that for growth and immortality can parallel his own: Homer and Shakespeare". And it was evident to all scholars, as soon as comparison by the critical method was attempted, that the Florentine must be given rank with Homer who chanted the heroic world of Hellas in Iliad and Odyssey, and with our own pre-eminent poet who held the mirror up to nature in such a way that he promised to be the universal poet of mankind.

But the great Italian singer apparently yields the palm neither to Homer nor to Shakespeare when he is judged from the bibliographer's standard, in other words, by the number of literary accretions which have surrounded the creations of these three most immortal of poets, or as one writer has described them: "the first three, chief among the captains of world song".

Dante's reputation and influence, like those of every other great writer, have not been without their periods of decline.

As a young man he was recognized quite early as a scholar and a poet. Immediately after his death he was lauded by such judges as Villani, Boccaccio, and Petrarch as a master of thought and style, and as a marvellous artist in the use of the hardly formed Italian language. Indeed, it is proof of the natural instinct of Dante, and of his confidence

in his own genius, that he should have chosen to write all his greatest works in what was deemed by scholars to be nothing more than a "patois," but which he, more than any other man, raised to the dignity of a classical language. In other words, he is not only the first great poet but the first great prose writer to use a language not yet subdued to literature.

Dante was the first influential poet in the "lingua rustica". To quote Boccaccio: "he was the first to elevate vulgar poetry among us Italians, and to raise it to a position of honour, just as Homer and Vergil did with theirs among the Greeks and Latins".

It is true that the work of popularization, in the true sense of the term, can be effected only by speaking to the people in their own language, and that was Dante's work. His aim, as he tells us in the "Conveto" (i. 8), was to give useful things to many, and, in the words of Dean Milman: "it required all the courage, firmness, and prophetic sagacity of Dante to throw aside the inflexible bondage of the established hierarchical Latin of Europe".

Not content with proving to all the world the fitness of the Italian language as a literary vehicle by the practical example of his own work, Dante planned a theoretical exposition of this fact in his "De vulgari eloquentia". The modern student of Romance philology must feel a special satisfaction in being able to date the commencement of his science from the appearance of his work, which is conceived and executed in the modern scientific spirit. Dante begins by telling his readers that he was the first to treat the subject.

It should be noted, however, that whilst Dante recognized the importance of a national language and literature, he was at the same time keenly alive to the necessity of classical studies for all who would attain proficiency in their own tongue. He chose for his models of composition the learned Roman poets. Indeed, Vergil, who was his master and guide on the unearthly pilgrimage, taught him in the sixth book of the "Aeneid" what that supernatural world was like.

His references to ancient literature have been collected and classified, and it will help us to appreciate the extent of his indebtedness to these classical writers, if we show approximately the number of times each of the respective works or authors are cited by Dante: the "Vulgate" 500, Aristotle 300, Vergil 200, Ovid 100, Cicero 50, Statius and Boethius 30 to 40, Horace 7, Livy and Orosius 10 to

20. Dante knew practically nothing of Greek, so that he was in bondage to the Latin translations, and when he quotes Aristotle it is the Latin Aristotle he is employing.

The perfection of the "Commedia," and above all the style, which Macaulay describes as "unmatched," are the first fruits of classical studies in modern Europe. It was Dante who first aroused a general taste for classical learning, and for that reason he may be fittingly described as the first humanist.

He was a born student and on the authority of Professor Norton we have it, that if Dante had never written a single poem, he would still have been famous as the most profound scholar of his times.

Within two generations of Dante's death no fewer than eleven commentaries on the "Commedia" had appeared, and Michael Angelo had not only sketched designs to illustrate the divine poem, but had written sonnets in praise of its author. As time passed, however, the atmosphere changed, and the glory faded, but it was only like nature's sleep before spring, the winter rest, which causes the shoot to be greener and the blossom to be more fragrant.

With the Florence of Michel Angelo he seemed to die, and when the Risorgimento dawned, he, too, rose from the grave. He rose by reason of some divine power persisting within his works, defeated but unconquerable. First, however, like the corn of wheat, he seemed to die.

Whereas, twenty editions of the "Commedia" were printed and published in Italy between the years 1472 and 1500, and forty editions in the sixteenth century, there were but three editions printed in the seventeenth century. This was due, no doubt, to the persecution by the Jesuits of the poet's works, and the writings they called forth. One of their principal aims was to make all literature Latin, and they felt that their plans must needs be thwarted, if they allowed so mighty a work in the vulgar tongue to run the land unchallenged. But all these schemes and machinations were of no avail. A voice so mighty as that of Dante, was sure to make itself heard, and no sort of intrigue was able to stifle its powerful note for any length of time.

The eighteenth century was not quite so barren of interest as the preceding one; but it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that a real revival of interest for Dante was noticeable. Between the years 1800 and 1865 upwards of one hundred editions of

the "Commedia" are recorded as having been published in Italy alone, and since that date the increase of Dante literature has been quite phenomenal.

In our own country the light of the genius which had impressed Chaucer and Milton burned but dimly in the eighteenth century. Appreciation of Dante was immensely advanced, however, by the publication in 1805 of Henry Francis Cary's translation of the first seventeen cantos of the "Inferno," and in 1814 by his complete translation of the "Commedia," of which numerous editions were called for between the year of its first appearance and 1844, the date of the translator's death. Critics are unanimous in its praise. Macaulay went so far as to say he knew no version of a great poem so faithful, and none which so fully showed that the translator was himself a man of poetic genius. It still holds its place in our literature, and Cary's well-deserved niche in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey with its simple inscription "Translator of Dante," will remain as a lasting monument of this Dante revival in England.

In an earlier paragraph we have ventured to quote the opinion expressed by Professor Willard Fiske, in that very suggestive and scholarly introduction to the "Catalogue of the Dante Collection" which he himself presented to Cornell University Library, that Dante yields place neither to Homer nor to Shakespeare when judged from the bibliographer's standard, and it may not be out of place to examine the considerations which led Mr. Fiske to arrive at such a conclusion, and to endeavour to justify it.

It is true that in point of bulk the achievements of Dante are greatly exceeded by those of the two older writers. Shakespeare claims pride of place in this respect with 110,237 lines, even when the doubtful plays assigned to him are deducted, as compared with 27,793 verses in the two epics with which the name of Homer is associated (15,693 in the "Iliad" and 12,100 in the "Odyssey"), and 14,333 in the "Divina Commedia". When, however, we seek to estimate the number of their readers by the frequency with which their writings have been reproduced Dante appears to hold his own. This is the more surprising when we consider that Shakespeare in his vernacular appeals to a world far vaster than that which Dante addresses in his natural tongue.

Another point to which Mr. Fiske calls attention and which is

certainly worthy of notice is the advantage which the dramatic art possesses over the epic in its methods of giving publicity to a production. Epics are no longer recited in public, and were never recited with the attractive accompaniments of moving figures and varied costumes. The dramatist on the other hand, speaks to and through double audiences, one of readers, the other of hearers. This is no slight advantage, and it becomes a question whether the general acquaintance with Shakespeare would not be greatly diminished were his plays never acted. Furthermore, this two-fold character of dramatic poetry increases its literature, for the theatre demands frequent separate reprints of the texts of popular plays.

In the case of Homer, since the days of the revival of classical studies, his works in the original Greek have been in constant educational use, such as the two other writers can hardly claim for theirs. His epics are repeatedly printed as school texts in every civilized land, and in great editions, with more or less of comment and other literary apparatus. Even so, it is doubtful whether the two most popular of the world's epics have appeared in more versions than has the immortal poem of Dante.

But the real test of a man's universality as Willard Fiske has pointed out, is decided by a man's standing outside his own country, or in the case of a writer beyond the limits of his own speech. The breadth of a writer's renown is measured by the reproductions or translations of his creations into other languages. In the case of Dante it may be said that since the end of the eighteenth century he has become the most passionate study on the part of the master poets of Europe. His marvellous style, his manifold exquisite images and similes, have become a never-failing source of inspiration.

Let us now see how Dante stands in this respect when compared with his two peers.

In English, commencing with the version in blank verse by C. Rogers of the "Inferno" in 1782, there are twenty separate and distinct translations of the "Divina Commedia," one of which, Cary's, has appeared in no less than thirty editions, as compared with about twelve of Homer, from that of Chapman appearing in 1598, down to the present day; whilst Italy has but three complete renderings of Shakespeare. This is the more noteworthy because of the Italian origin of Shakespeare's finest creations.

In French the "Divina Commedia" has been fully rendered by sixteen different translators, commencing with that of Grangier, which appeared in 1596, but the study of Dante struck no root in French soil until the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was Rivarol, by his translation of the "Inferno" in 1783, who was the first to attract general attention to the "Commedia" in that country, and Chateaubriand, though far from appreciating the work at its true value, made the cult general. Hugo regarded Dante as having hated all evil, not only evil in high places. And if we turn to French literature to-day, with its various schools, symbolists and others, we are struck with the fact, that they, too, continue to derive much of their inspiration and support from Dante's work. As compared with the sixteen translations of Dante into French, we find only twelve versions of Homer, and eight of Shakespeare.

It is surprising that for so many centuries Dante should have been little more than a name in Germany, especially when we consider the close relations in which that country stood to Italy at repeated intervals in her history. The first German translation of the "Commedia" was that of Bachenschwanz, which appeared between 1767 and 1769. Versions of Kannegiesser, Streckfuss, Kopisch and Prince John of Saxony followed. Goethe seems never to have given that attention to Dante which might have been expected. Schlegel speaks of Dante as his favourite poet, and from the date of the appearance of Schlegel's translation of parts of the "Commedia" in 1791, we may trace the influence of the form and spirit of Dante's poetry on German literature. Against nineteen versions of the "Commedia," in German, we can only set ten of Homer, and eight of Shakespeare.

In Spanish Dante's masterpiece has been translated six times as against half that number of versions of Homer and Shakespeare. The very first translation of Dante was into Catalan in 1428. In Dutch it has been rendered four times, a number not equalled either by Homer or by Shakespeare. In modern Greek there are two renderings to one of Shakespeare, and two of Homer. Russia boasts of two versions, whilst Hungary, Portugal, and its linguistic daughter Brazil, have each just as many; and there is a single interpretation in Bohemian, in Polish, in Roumanian, and in Swedish. Not all the last-named languages have versions of either Homer or Shakespeare.

In Latin the "Divina Commedia" has been printed in four different renderings, Homer only in two.

Translations of the "Divina Commedia" either in whole or in part have appeared in twenty-six languages, and in eleven of the dialects of Italy, a figure which is not reached either by Shakespeare or by Homer.

It is computed that since 1800 the average annual issue of editions of the "Divina Commedia" in the original has been more than four, and it is doubtful whether during the nineteenth century anything approaching four hundred editions of Shakespeare were issued.

In the Italian lands, throughout which Dante enjoys an immortality both of affection and acquaintanceship, such as no other of the great intellects of the modern world has succeeded in gaining among his countrymen, the number of independent Dante publications yearly exceeds one hundred and twenty-five. If to these are added the privately printed monographs, and the really important contributions to reviews, and transactions of various societies, the annual total will probably exceed two hundred. How many important publications having reference to our own master poet can we reckon up every twelve months among English-speaking peoples, who out-number the Italians by at least four to one?

There is little doubt that the sources of this literary flood are to be found in the encyclopædic character of the great poem. If we examine Dr. Paget Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary" we shall find that the poet has touched upon, or treated, a surprising number of themes. His allusions to persons and places, and his references to scenes and events, which may be numbered by the hundred, have served as so many pegs upon which students of research have been enabled to hang scholarly dissertations. His mysticism and symbolism, his allegories and analogies, and the many fascinating problems scattered through his text have not only challenged the faculties of the more speculative of the scholars, but have quickened the fancy of the poet, the novelist and the dramatist. Scientific minds also find subjects for meditation in his astronomical features, and in the topographical word pictures of the circles of Hell, the terraces of Purgatory, and the planetary spheres of Paradise, which he has sketched for us.

Such are only a few of the topics which constantly seem to demand the investigation of critics, quite apart from the ambitious attempts

to expound the "Divina Commedia" as a whole, the interpretation of its loftier meanings, the estimate of its relations to its author, to his age, to his fellowmen, and to spiritual things; aspirations which have evoked the labour of so many intellects, and such learning as the world must always admire.

Turning now to a more detailed consideration of the printed edition of the original text of the "Divina Commedia," it is a matter of strange coincidence that the three first editions should have appeared in the same year (1472); and still more surprising is it that two of them were printed in the comparatively unimportant towns of Foligno, and Jesi, whilst the third appeared in Mantua.[1]

The natal place of the poet, Florence, holds the first rank as to the number of editions produced from first to last by the printers of a single city. These have reached the figure of eighty, whilst those printed at Venice number only fifty-five, Mantua fifty, Naples thirty-five, Turin ten, and Rome ten.

Outside Italy, Paris is easily first with thirty editions of the Italian text; London has something like a dozen to her credit, the first no earlier than 1778.

The first Florentine edition appeared in 1481, and was the first illustrated edition; but it was a quarter of a century before a second edition was printed there (1506), and sixty-six years elapsed before the third appeared in 1572, yet again twenty-three years before the fourth appeared in 1595. Throughout this period Venice was issuing a new edition every five years, twenty-five in all between 1477 and 1596. Subsequent to the edition of 1595 no Florentine edition appeared until that with the commentary of Venturi in 1771-1774, being a period of a century and three-quarters, and that remained the only edition issued from the poet's natal place in the eighteenth century.

In 1813 the text again accompanied by the commentary of Venturi appeared with a Florentine imprint, but these years of dearth came to an end in 1817 with the first of the four pretentious and profusely illustrated folios, of the so-called "Anchor edition," which appeared between 1817 and 1819. Since then one yearly edition has been the result.

This appreciation of Dante would be obviously incomplete without

[1] Facsimiles of the first page of each of these three editions, from the copies in the John Rylands Library, are published with this article.

some reference to the touching love story which he has enshrined for us in his "Vita Nuova".

It is generally admitted that in the domain of love literature Petrarch's sway is unequalled. It is claimed for him that he was the inspirer of most of the love poetry of modern Europe; and yet it must be said that Petrarch's "Canzoniere" would have been impossible if Dante's love for Beatrice had not been there to serve him as guide.

According to Boccaccio's "Life of Dante," quoting from Dr. Wicksteed's translation: "While his [Dante's] tears were still flowing for the death of Beatrice, about in his twenty-sixth year, he put together in a little volume which he called the "Vita Nuova," certain small things as sonnets and odes, which he had made in rhyme at divers seasons theretofore, marvellously beautiful, placing at the head of each severally and in order the occasions that had moved him to write it, and adding the divisions of the poems after them."

Dante without doubt idealized Beatrice, and in the end employed her as a symbol, but that does not imply that she was not, in the origin, a real creature of flesh and blood, and the object of his genuine love. In her loveliness and purity the heroine becomes an image upon earth of the Divine Beauty and Goodness, and the poet's love to her is the stepping-stone to love of the supreme God.

It is suggested that by the title "Vita Nuova" Dante probably meant to intimate the renewal or transfiguration of his life by his love for Beatrice.

He himself tells us that he acquired the greater part of his learning after the death of Beatrice, with the purpose of composing a work in honour of his beloved, in which he was to say things, which had never before been said of any woman.

It was a preparation for the "Commedia" inasmuch as it tells us how the singer became poet, and how the woman, who was to be his spiritual pilot over the ocean, crossed his path.

Dante regarded love as the origin of all things, good and evil, and sets forth his theory at full length in the seventeenth canto of the "Purgatorio". This elevating influence of love had formed one of the chief themes of the troubadours and their disciples when Dante came and set the stamp of immortality upon the conception. This is the love that the best and greatest of our poets still hold up as the ideal to which all must strive, the love which is found in Shelley, the Brown-

ings, and Tennyson. It may be said, therefore, that these minor poems of Dante served as a land mark between mediæval and modern love poetry.

Professor Gardner describes the "Vita Nuova" as the most spiritual and ethereal romance ever written, but its purity is such that comes not from innocent simplicity of soul, but from self-suppression; and suggests that we should take the "New life" not as merely meaning the poet's youth, but as referring to the new life that commenced with the dawn of love, the regeneration of the soul.

Dante tangled various threads in his enchanted web, seizing hints from all he came across. He was not merely a singer of love songs, or a weaver of dreams, but a seer of things hidden from mortal sight. His utterances are the utterances of one who has himself been close to those aspects of life of which he speaks. He has looked at them with his own eyes, by the keenness of his vision and by the strength of his insight he has seen more deeply into things, and has appreciated their meaning more powerfully than the common race of men. Above all he possessed the wonderful faculty of making us see and feel with him. All his works with the possible exception of the "De vulgari eloquentia" are component parts of a whole duty of man mutually completing and interpreting one another.

His spiritual message is love, but love tested and sanctified by the grace of Christ the Redeemer.

We can but admire the miracles of construction which make his "Vita Nuova" correspond after a way of its own to St. Augustine's "Confessions," and his "Divina Commedia," where the strange title conceals a resemblance of design and of treatment, to the "Civitate Dei," each a design of infinite detail, complex and opulent as a Gothic Cathedral.

Dante will be always the greatest of dramatic poets, by his blending into a single work of the charm of nature, the power of the supernatural, and the pathos of human joy and sorrow, with justice over all; and we may safely predict that he will never again pass under eclipse as long as our civilization endures.

Truly may it be said that the nation that had a Dante could not perish.

THE PLACE OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY IN HISTORY. A CENTENARY STUDY.[1]

By T. F. Tout, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND DIRECTOR OF ADVANCED STUDIES IN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IT is now just seven centuries since the feast of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr was first celebrated in the church of Canterbury. For three centuries every return of the long and genial July summer saw the perennial stream of pilgrims swell to the dimensions of a mighty river. For those same three centuries every recurrent fifty years witnessed the abnormal crowds of the faithful that attended the celebrations of the jubilee of that transference of the sacred relics, to witness which, the great Stephen Langton had summoned the whole world to Canterbury, on 7 July, 1220.

Nearly four centuries after the Reformation, Canterbury once more commemorated Thomas' jubilee on the occasion of the seventh centenary of his translation on 7 July, 1920. It could hardly be celebrated better than by interrogating historical science as to Thomas' place in history. Let us make this enquiry in the spirit of a science which should be neither sceptical nor credulous, neither clerical nor anticlerical, neither Anglican nor Roman, neither Catholic nor anti-Catholic, but should aim simply at the sympathetic yet critical study of facts as they happened. For this the first requisite is to get at the facts themselves and to try and appreciate them in due proportion. In our search for the truth we must distinguish between the mass of irrelevant detail and the principles which the flood of detail almost overwhelms. We must distinguish also between what St. Thomas stood for in his lifetime and what men believed him to have stood for

[1] This paper is based on a lecture delivered in the chapter house of Canterbury Cathedral on 7 July, 1920, on the occasion of the seventh centenary of the translation of St. Thomas. It was repeated on 8 December, 1920, at the John Rylands Library, and on 25 January, 1921, before the Durham branch of the Historical Association.

in the generations that succeeded his death. To do this we must understand and sympathise with the mediæval mind and the mediæval point of view, in some ways so different, in others perhaps not so widely separated from our own. And of one thing at least we may feel assured, that both St. Thomas and his enemies shared in this mediæval point of view. It was no fight, as some have imagined, between modern anti-clericalism and aggressive priestcraft. Still less was there any element of a national movement, whether ecclesiastical or civil. It was only to a certain extent a contest between the state ecclesiastical and the state political. There were as many good churchmen against Thomas as there were for him in the six years' strife that preceded his catastrophe. But if Thomas' detractors persecuted him in his life, they joined with his disciples in venerating his memory after his martyrdom. The rights and wrongs of the living Thomas fiercely divided his contemporaries, but friends and foes agreed in worshipping the saint and martyr. Bitter lifelong antagonists went on pilgrimage to his shrine, joining with his faithful disciples in testifying to his high character and to the wonders which his sacred relics wrought. It was this remarkable consensus of opinion that gave St. Thomas of Canterbury his undoubted position as the most famous of English mediæval saints.

The study of the lives of the saints takes us over difficult and thorny ground. But the problem as to what the main facts were, so insoluble in the case of those early saints as to whom we have little or no authentic or contemporary testimony, does not concern the historians of St. Thomas. More is known about St. Thomas' life than about that of almost any one of his contemporaries. He had as many and as good contemporary biographers as St. Bernard or as Henry II himself. Had we to attempt the detailed study of his acts, we should be appalled by the mass of evidence through which we have to wade. We might also be well discouraged by the inadequacy of the exposition and interpretation of the facts shown by most of the writers who have in later times attempted to deal with the question. There is no such problem here as there is in dealing with those ancient saints whose historical existence is chiefly vouched for by the names of the churches which they have founded, and whose records are to be found in biographies, written in later ages either from the motive of edification, or with the less praiseworthy though very human object of writing up a famous

church and proclaiming the wonders wrought by the local saint to a public bent on pilgrimages. It would be too much to say that either the motive of edification or the motive of advertisement are absent from the lives of St. Thomas. But with all allowance made for this these writers knew their man. They were contemporaries, and eye-witnesses ; they knew the facts and had little motive for distorting them. The most sceptical cannot deny the main features of the record ; they can only question the wisdom or the impartiality of the interpretation. Fortunately for us neither the biography nor the character of St. Thomas is our direct concern. Our business is with opinion rather than with events, with generalities rather than with details. Let us in this spirit ask ourselves what St. Thomas stood for, why did his contemporaries uphold him or denounce him in his lifetime : and why after his death did all alike join together in cherishing his memory ?

In discussing St. Thomas' place in history, we shall have mainly to examine his place in the history of the church. But because the ecclesiastical aspects of his career are so obvious, it will be well if, before we approach these, we concern ourselves for a moment with St. Thomas' place in civil history. For the career of Thomas as a champion of the liberties of the church was a brief one. His early career is only accidentally that of a churchman. The young and promising Londoner, who began his life's work at the court of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, sought fame and advancement, rather than the functions of a Christian minister. He was a clerk because in the twelfth century all educated men, all who sought to win their way by their brains, were necessarily clerks. Though he worked in an archbishop's household, and therefore incidentally served the church of Canterbury, yet he was no more a clerk than if he had attached himself to the service of the crown or of a great secular lord. His functions were administrative, diplomatic, secretarial, anything but those of the servant of the altar. If he had his reward in livings, prebends, provostships, it would have been the same had he joined the household of a lay magnate.

For the greater part of his service in the archbishop's household Thomas was, though a clerk, yet not in holy orders. It was only after some twelve years of such service that he was ordained deacon on his appointment as archdeacon of Canterbury. And in these days the archdeacon was a personal servant of his bishop, the *oculus episcopi*, a member of his household or *familia*, the judge of the

ecclesiastical court of first instance, the administrator. Such an officer was, as his name suggests, normally in deacon's orders, and not, as now, a priest of senior standing. And a small diocese, like that of Canterbury, still kept up the primitive fashion of one archdeacon whose sphere was the whole diocese. Nor did Thomas as archdeacon remain attached to the archbishop's household for a long period; almost immediately afterwards he was, with Theobald's goodwill, transferred from his household to that of the king, though retaining his office as archdeacon.[1] As royal chancellor between 1155 and 1162, he was as much the household servant of a great lord, as when between 1143 and 1155 he had been the *familiaris* of Theobald as clerk and archdeacon. From the household clerk as from the household knight, mediæval morality required above all things unlimited and unquestioned devotion to the will of his lord. Just as the *comes* of the primitive *princeps* fought not for victory but for his master, so did the *familiaris* of the mediæval magnate regard the absolute and unquestioning subordination of himself, soul and body, to his lord's interests, as the primary duty of his station. It was all of a piece when Thomas, as the archbishop's *familiaris*, sought to uphold the interests of the church of Canterbury as when, as the king's chancellor, he strove with all his might to promote the interests of the Angevin monarchy. The secular absorption, the "unclerical" acts, such as appearing in armour in the war of Toulouse, the hot zeal with which Thomas extracted from the clergy the uttermost farthing of their means to promote the king's campaigns in Southern France, were all the natural results of his loyal and unbounded devotion to his lord for the time being. Save a few precisians, contemporaries saw little unseemly in them in a clerk in deacon's orders. If the pomp of the chancellor was criticised as excessive, it was assumed to originate in his desire to impress upon the world the greatness of his master the king. It was a suggestion of highmindedness, a premonition of future sanctity, that this brilliantly garbed and lavishly attended servant of the crown lived a life of blameless chastity and self-restraint. In all this devotion to his personal lord Thomas the clerk was but obeying the same standard of duty as that which inspired his junior contemporary, William the Marshal, to con-

[1] It was not until 1163 that Thomas, at the king's request, transferred the archdeaconry to his clerk, Geoffrey Ridel, who soon became his uncompromising foe.

secrate a long and unblemished career to the service of Henry II and his sons. The questionable acts that resulted from such devotion were taken as a matter of course. If Thomas fleeced the church to pay for the war of Toulouse, William Marshal's personal devotion to his lord compelled him to remain faithful to King John against Stephen Langton and the barons who upheld the Great Charter. We shall see that the same principle of devoted service to his lord made Thomas as archbishop the protagonist of ecclesiastical freedom and led him straight on to his martyrdom.

Thomas' position for the first twenty years of his public career was then that of the exemplary household clerk, obliged as his first duty to devote himself to the service of the immediate lord whose bread he ate. In this he was a pattern to his age of the faithful *familiaris*. But Thomas' two masters were men of exceptional character, ability, and resourcefulness. Membership of their households involved no common obligations or privileges. In the twelfth century, as in earlier ages, no line was drawn between the private and the public activities of either a lay or an ecclesiastical magnate. Both the prince and the prelate had to govern his huge train of followers, feed them, clothe them, and house them, and to administer the estates which provided the resources for the expenditure involved. Moderns would regard this as a matter of private estate management. But the early middle ages confused with this domestic economy the management of the public charges which fell upon the dignity of state or church. Accordingly, the pope ruled the church universal, the archbishop ruled his province, the emperor governed the vaguely defined Roman empire, the king ruled his kingdom, the baron his barony by the same persons and by the same machinery as those through which he ruled his own domestic establishment. Moreover, by this time law and sound rule were emerging from feudal chaos. Nowhere was this more the case than in England where the feudal anarchy of Stephen's reign involved two contradictory reactions. In the absence of effective state control, the church, headed by Theobald, perforce undertook many of the functions of the state. After Stephen's death the state, now controlled by Henry II, set itself to work to restore the strong rule of William the Conqueror and his sons. Both archbishop and king worked to this end through their organised household.

Thomas' early experience as Theobald's clerk and his later

experience as Henry II's chancellor gave him a full experience of both sides of this process. The household of Theobald was the centre of politics, of government, of learning, and of piety. Part of Thomas' legal lore came from his studies at Bologna, but part may have come from attending the lectures given by the famous Lombard jurist, Vacarius, not at Oxford, as was once thought, but in the court of the archbishop of Canterbury. His political and ecclesiastical ideas certainly came from a brother clerk of Theobald's household, John of Salisbury. His first diplomatic mission was when, as Theobald's agent, he persuaded the pope not to perpetuate anarchy by allowing Stephen's son to be crowned king. This service to the house of Anjou made natural Thomas' appointment as chancellor. In the seven years (1155-1162) in which he held that office, the Angevin chancery became the most perfect piece of administrative machinery that Europe had yet known. The mediæval chancery was, we must always remember, not a law court, like our modern chancery. It was an administrative office, the branch of the royal household devoted to drafting and sealing documents, issuing orders in the king's name, and not seldom suggesting the policy which those orders involved. It itinerated with the court of an ever wandering king. Its sphere was not England—to call Thomas Chancellor of England is an elementary error. Its sphere was as wide as the mighty Angevin empire that ranged from Scotland to the Pyrenees, and included a third of modern France. The chancellor was the king's chancellor, not the chancellor of the kingdom. Like his master, he spent more time in Normandy and Anjou than in England, and, wherever he was, he and his clerks issued their writs which the king's lay officers made it their business to enforce. He was as much the chancellor at Rouen, at Poitiers or at Bordeaux, as at London or York.

The immediate function of the king's chancery was formal—the issuing and classification of writs. Those writs, or letters, were famous for their precision of form, their businesslike brevity, their effectiveness in expressing their meaning. So anxious was the chancery to spare words and parchment that instead of "Henricus" the initial "H" was used to represent the king's name, and the traditional formula "King by the grace of God" was cut out by omitting the reference to divine favour. The great French scholar, Léopold Delisle, has shown that the excision of *Dei gratia* was characteristic of

Henry II's writs from his accession to 1173.[1] It still remains for the historian of St. Thomas to point the moral that this omission was accomplished and continued when the future martyr of ecclesiastical liberty was the king's chancellor, his most powerful, beloved, and influential minister. It is true that there was no profanity ; no suggestion of anti-clericalism or secularism was possible at such a time. It was just to save trouble with unnecessary forms.

The king ruled his whole dominions through his one household. The chancellor was his secretary ; not yet in name but already in fact, he was his secretary of state for all departments. We might even call him the king's private secretary, only we have already learnt that the contrast of private and public was meaningless to the men of that age. But a good secretary always has power to suggest policy. Though Henry II was eminently capable of ruling for himself, and possessed, I feel sure, more originality, breadth, and insight than his chancellor ever had, it is inconceivable that so active and so useful a servant did not do something towards determining the current of the royal wishes. He perhaps did this the more effectively since his attitude was just that of the good private secretary of a modern statesman. His mission was to do his master's bidding, to efface himself, and get his master the credit for his acts. This work he did so well that Henry became on the most intimate and cordial terms with his minister. Thomas then was the first of our great chancellors. He raised an important but unassuming court office into something approaching an independent political status. It is clear that even the king's justiciar, the only great official of those days, was becoming comparatively effaced. The best proof of this is that, when, a year after Theobald's death, Henry imposed Thomas on the Christ Church monks as their new archbishop, he had every intention of combining the see of Canterbury with the office of chancellor. In earlier days the chancellor, like Thomas, seldom held higher church preferment than an archdeaconry. When he became a bishop, he left the chancery and the court and devoted himself to ecclesiastical work. It was a rude shock to the masterful king when Thomas, on becoming archbishop, insisted on resigning the office of chancellor.

With this great renunciation we pass to the ecclesiastical side of

[1] See for this Delisle's *Introduction* to his monumental *Recueil des actes de Henri II concernant la France.*

Thomas' career. But it is worth while in insisting on what may seem disproportionate length on the administrative aspect of Thomas' work. It gives him another niche of his own in history, as one of the first household clerks of a great archbishop, and a greater king. In this capacity he stood out from among a class just struggling into importance by reason of his superior efficiency, competence, and absorption in the faithful execution of his lord's work. But Thomas, on becoming chancellor, was more than this. He did for the chancery what Roger of Salisbury, in the days of the king's grandfather, Henry I, did for the exchequer. He prepared it for the position it later gained as the great administrative office of the state, just as Roger prepared the way for the Angevin exchequer becoming the financial office of the state. Only the exchequer was more advanced : it was going out of court : it was becoming English, localised, sedentary at Westminster, even in a sense national. All this was in time to be the case with the chancery also. But Thomas here was only a forerunner. The events after his resignation cured Henry of any wish to make the chancery what the exchequer had already become, a virtual office of state, independent of the household, with its own rules and traditions strong enough to temper even the personal will of the king. It is because the position of Thomas the chancellor has been so little recognised by historians, indifferent to the history of administration, that a student of administration feels in private duty bound to stress, perhaps to overstress, this aspect of his work. Yet he who neglects administrative history can hardly understand aright the process by which the two great machines of church and state, often at variance, but even more often in fairly friendly co-operation, restored law and order to Europe, overthrew feudal anarchy, and made peace, civilisation, arts, and science once more possible.

We next come to the second great stage in Thomas' career, a stage that lasts from 1162 to his death in 1170. The abruptness of the transition is emphasised by the fact that he was only ordained priest on the eve of his consecration as bishop, and that he said his first mass as effective primate of all England in his metropolitan cathedral. During these eight years he belongs to an even wider, and much more generally recognised type, a type with which the middle ages were only too familiar, the type of the political ecclesiastic. By this we mean that church interests were uppermost in his mind, that he conceived it

his chief duty to fight for the church, and make himself its champion. But his conception of the church remains a quasi-political conception. He regarded the church as a great organised society, a sort of state over against the state, a super-state if you will, with a higher mission, a greater right to control men's minds, but nevertheless as a body whose essence was political rather than spiritual, a machine, an organisation, a something concrete and tangible, whose function indeed was to promote God's glory, sound doctrine, and the good life, but whose method was to watch the lower organisation, that state which, though of God, was relegated to a lower and limited plane, which in effect was only too often to be envisaged as the work of sinful man, it may even be as the creation of the devil. It was the business of this organic and militant church to save the world from the overgrown might of the state, which, under strong and ambitious kings, was ever encroaching on the sphere of the church so that the zealous churchman was forced to stand, as it were, upon the defensive, to safeguard its privileges, to uphold its liberties, believing that in so doing he was best promoting the welfare of humanity, the glory of his Maker, and the prevalence of the things of the mind and soul over the things of the body. There were hundreds of conspicuous prelates of this sort, so many that it is hard to decide who were the most zealous, who the most characteristic of this mighty band. If Thomas be regarded, as well he may, as the sublimation of this type, he remains a striking and extraordinary but still not a unique figure in history.

What then did Thomas stand for in the years between 1162, when he became archbishop, and the year 1170, when he became Thomas the martyr? From 1162 to 1164 he remained in England; but even in those early years of his new dignity he was involved in all sorts of different disputes with the king. On becoming archbishop, Thomas, faithful to his long tradition of whole-hearted allegiance to his lord, threw himself with all his might into the new service to which he had now been called. Henceforth he was the servant neither of archbishop nor of the king but of Holy Church, and he devoted himself with heart and soul to safeguarding the interests of his new mistress. Henry II was bitterly disappointed. He regarded Thomas as bound to himself by personal as well as by official ties. Resenting his new attitude, the king took no pains to avoid the conflict which was soon imminent between him and the primate. The occasions of dispute

multiplied. Their immediate grounds are too trivial to detain us here, but they were all based on the incompatibility of interests and the similarity of temperament of the two protagonists. Soon they were all merged in the great dispute as to whether or not Thomas would accept what Henry's lawyers professed to be the "ancient customs" regarding the relations of church and state which were embodied in the Constitutions of Clarendon. To these constitutions Thomas for a moment gave a grudging and reluctant assent. But he repented almost immediately of this unworthy concession to the secular arm, and from the moment of his repentance there was no chance of a reconciliation between the rival authorities. Soon Thomas sought in exile freedom to uphold the liberties of the church. But the dispute was no mere English dispute. Henry was as much at home in France as in his island kingdom, and Thomas was more at home in his monastic retreats at Pontigny and Sens than he could have been in any spot that yielded civil obedience to Henry. The conflict was the world conflict of church and state that distracted western Christendom for centuries. It was in vain that pope Alexander III and Henry himself strove to isolate and localise the dispute. Alexander threw floods of cold water over the over-eager exile ; but the pope's attitude, like the solid support given by the English bishops to the king, only convinced Thomas the more that he was waging, alone and unaided, the good fight for freedom. It was equally to no purpose that both sides used every effort to involve others in the controversy and fight out their fight alike by fair means or foul. By stopping all supplies from the resources of the church of Canterbury, Henry strove to starve out his enemies. By driving Thomas' kinsfolk into exile, he sought to make the dispute as bitter and as cruel as he knew how. By coercing the Cistercian order, afraid to quarrel with the mighty Angevin, Henry deprived Thomas of his quiet refuge at Pontigny. It was only through the support of the English king's political enemies, notably Louis VII of France, that Thomas could obtain a home to live in and the means for a precarious subsistence.

As time went on Thomas' prospects grew brighter, notably when Alexander was able to return to Italy, though not to Rome, from his long exile in France, and therefore felt himself in a stronger position to back up Thomas in his efforts. But new disputes complicated the position, and especially the unwarrantable intrusion by Henry on the

rights of Canterbury when he encouraged Roger, Archbishop of York, Thomas' most malignant enemy among the English episcopate, to crown his son, the younger Henry, as joint King of England, on Whitsunday, 1170, in Westminster Abbey, despite the protests of the exiled archbishop and the stern prohibition of the pope. But by this time both protagonists had grown weary of the struggle, and there followed the strangest turn of all in the long controversy. This was the sudden and altogether unsatisfactory reconciliation in which no word was said either about the disputed customs or about the new offence of Roger's aggression in the southern province. So imperfect was the patching up of the feud that there was no real attempt at a renewal of personal friendship. Nevertheless, Thomas was suffered to return to Canterbury, only to find that his sequestered estates were still administered by brutal knights in the king's service and that he was denied access to the young king Henry, who was nominally governing England during his father's absence in Normandy. Driven back to Canterbury, Thomas at once took up the challenge thrown down by archbishop Roger, and fulminated excommunication against all who had taken part in the irregular coronation of the young king.

Thomas' action, however injudicious, was only what any intelligent person who knew his character must have anticipated from him. Nevertheless, when the news of it passed over the seas to Henry, the king burst into a characteristic fit of temper in the course of which he uttered the rash words that encouraged four over-zealous knights, attached to his household service, to hurry over the channel, make their way to Canterbury, and murder the archbishop in his cathedral. With the tragedy of that dark winter day, 29 December, 1170, Thomas ceased to be the hot-headed and quarrelsome ecclesiastic, fighting for the privileges of his church. He became the saint and martyr. With his death he became an infinitely more powerful enemy to his king than ever he had been in his life. After it begins that posthumous history of Thomas of Canterbury which alone has given the martyr his unique place in history.

Before we begin to consider the last and most important stage of Thomas' influence, we must pause to ask ourselves what he was fighting for during these eight years of conflict. To do this properly we must try and enter sympathetically into the archbishop's point of view. To do this is not easy, since all the voluminous correspondence and

literature, arising from the controversy, though full of strong language and vituperation, is singularly unhelpful in material to enable us to narrow down the points of dispute into a definite shape. Thomas himself does little to put his views clearly. He was neither a scholar nor a thinker. He acted on impulse and on instinct rather than on reason, and he seldom presented a reasoned case either to himself or to others. He was above all things an administrator, a man of action, a man of practical affairs. He had little imagination or sympathy, little originality, and not much sense of humour. His culture was limited, and so far as it went was legal. He may have attended the lectures of Vacarius on Roman law in Theobald's court. He certainly frequented the schools of Bologna for a short season, when released by Theobald from the service of the court of Canterbury, in order that he might fit himself for his work as archdeacon by studying canon law at a time when the famous Gratian still taught at Bologna. He was no theologian. Though after his consecration he wore the black robe of an Austin canon and macerated his body by severe asceticism, his piety was that of the ordinary monk whose ideal was personal salvation for himself rather than ministerial service to the community.

The very simplicity of Thomas' point of view prevented any occasion from breaking from his old principles. His mainspring of duty was still loyalty to his immediate lord. This in no wise stood in the way of his abandoning his ancient habits and former relations to others. His early friendship from the days of his membership of Theobald's household he still kept up, just as he did his ancient enmities, notably his feud with Roger of Pont L'Evêque, who, like him, had been one of Theobald's clerks and had preceded him as archdeacon of Canterbury, releasing that post for him only on his nomination to the see of York.

Another old colleague in the court of Canterbury is of especial interest for us. Conspicuous among the band of scholars who frequented the household of Theobald was John of Salisbury, the greatest English man of letters of the time, with whom Thomas established life-long relations of intimacy. There was a great contrast of temperament between the two friends. John of Salisbury was a man of letters, the chief classical scholar of his age, the greatest product of the humanistic school of Chartres, moderate, balancing, tactful, and diplomatic, a sort

of Erasmus of the twelfth century, but quite free from the humorous scepticism and the restless spirit of investigation that marked the great Renaissance scholar until the rash violence of a Luther drove him into the conservatism of his old age. John of Salisbury was not only a man of letters and a scholar. Though hardly an original thinker, he was deeply interested in speculation, and beguiled a prolonged leisure of half disgrace in writing a huge treatise on political philosophy called the *Policraticus*, in which he laid down the approved twelfth century doctrine of the relations of church and state. He was a strong churchman, too, and had entered the household of Theobald on the recommendation of the great St. Bernard of Clairvaux to whom scholarship and philosophy were anathema, except when wholly devoted to the service of the church. The leisure which enabled John to put together this mighty tome had been secured because his hierarchical principles had early brought him into conflict with Henry II, so that for a season the court of Canterbury was an unsafe place for him. The reason of the dispute seems to have been that John had denounced too freely those spoliations of the church by which Henry had financed the war of Toulouse, and for which Thomas, when the king's chancellor, had been, as we have seen, responsible. But the trouble was soon patched up ; John returned to the archbishop's household and was continued there after Thomas had succeeded Theobald. For the rest of his life the scholar and the new archbishop were the closest allies. It was to Thomas that John dedicated his *Policraticus*, and we can now read in print an edition of that work, edited with admirable scholarship from the very copy which John presented to his patron. This manuscript was preserved in the church of Canterbury until in Elizabeth's time Archbishop Parker probably saved it from destruction by including it in the great collection of manuscripts which he bequeathed to Corpus College at Cambridge, his own old college.[1] From this time onwards John of Salisbury made himself the brain of Archbishop Thomas. John the scholar stood to Thomas, the man of affairs, as John Locke stood to the first Earl of Shaftesbury or as Edmund Burke stood to the Rockingham Whigs, the source of their inspiration, the fountain of their ideas of general principle. From

[1] The best and most recent edition is that edited by Mr. C. C. I. Webb, *Policratici sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII.* (2 vols., Oxford, 1909).

him, if from any one, we can learn what Thomas' theory of church and state really was.

Like Thomas, John of Salisbury was not original. His *Policraticus* is the accepted doctrine, illustrated with great learning. In it he lays down the time-honoured distinction between the constitutional king, the *rex politicus*, who reigns by law and the tyrant who overrides the law in the interest of his own individual caprice. For the law-abiding king John has the utmost respect. His power comes from God, for all lawful authority is from on High. He who resists the prince resists God Himself. But the prince, though the servant of law and equity, is himself released from the trammels of law because he represents the public authority. Even when, like Attila, he is the scourge of God, his rod is to be endured, for whomsoever the Lord loveth, He chasteneth. But the sword of justice, thus wielded by the righteous prince, comes from the hand of the church. The church hands over the secular sword to the prince, reserving the sword of spiritual justice to the bishops. The prince is, therefore, in a sense the minister of the priesthood, because he exercises that part of its sacred office which it regards as unfitting to be discharged by priestly hands. Thus the secular office is lower than that of the priest because it involves the punishment of crime and, after a fashion, resembles the work of a butcher. Conscious of his limited sphere the Emperor Constantine, though he summoned the first General Council to Nicæa, did not take the first seat in it but the last, and regarded the decisions of its fathers as sacrosanct. A crowd of ancient examples, evoked from the scholar's learning, now darkens John's general principles. It is enough for us if we remember his primary doctrine of the *regnum* as the minister of the *sacerdotium*, of the prince as the executive officer of the church. For who are to know the law, to ascertain justice, and the divine will, if it be not the priests of the Lord ?

It was from the point of view thus expressed by John of Salisbury that Thomas regarded the secular power. Henry II was so little trammelled by the divine law that he was a tyrant rather than a law-abiding prince. It was in vain that Henry pleaded that the customs formulated at Clarendon represented the traditions of his grandfather, Henry I, and of his great-grandfather, William the Conqueror. Much might be said for and against this contention. But to Thomas

the historical question of the truth of the king's allegations was a matter of no importance. If the customs were really customs, then so much the worse for the customs. It showed not only that Henry II was a tyrant, but that the imputation of tyranny could rightly be extended to William the Conqueror and his two sons. A good archbishop was bound to set his face against so wicked a tradition. In resisting the customs he was fighting for the liberties of holy church. And it was as the upholder of the freedom of the church that Thomas regarded himself. It was intolerable to him that a prince, whose function was to be the sword of the church, should tell the church what it could do and what it might not do. The church had ordained that ecclesiastical suits might upon occasion be brought before the papal curia. Could a prince of this world instruct God's people that they could not lay their causes before the vicar of Christ without his permission? Could a king check the flood of pious pilgrimage to the threshold of the apostles by forbidding the higher clergy from leaving the realm, save with the royal consent? Above all, could God's ordained ministers be dragged before secular tribunals, when the courts of the church were specially appointed to deal with them? And this plea for clerical immunity from the civil courts was the stronger since every special class had in those days its special exemptions from the ordinary law. When barons were tried by barons, townsmen by their fellow-townsmen, and even the misbelieving Jew brought before a court of his co-religionists, was the clerk alone to be submitted to the unsympathetic judgment of the royal courts?

Henry II himself so far felt the force of this plea that he did not so much as ask that clerks should be treated just like laymen and be exclusively judged in secular courts. To have made this request would have put the king hopelessly in the wrong with all serious contemporary opinion, and Henry was much too shrewd to have made so fatal a blunder. Accordingly he cloaked his statement of the "ancient custom" of the land in terms so ambiguous that they admit of very different interpretations. The result has been that it is still a question of probabilities and likelihood as to what was really required. One thing, however, is sufficiently clear and this definite point seems to me to be at the root of the matter. Henry insisted that clerks accused of any misdeed should on summons appear before the court of the king's justice, and thus recognise the royal supremacy.

His motive here seems to have been very much that which inspired the Reformation sovereigns to describe themselves as "over all persons and in all causes supreme". It was in effect a demand that clerks liable to judicial proceedings should recognise the king's authority over all his subjects.

In the same way it was insisted that, if the clerk, arraigned before the royal court, pleaded his clergy as a reason why the king's justice had no jurisdiction over him, it was left to the court to decide whether his plea was valid or not. If it were recognised, some officer of the court was to be sent to the ecclesiastical tribunal, and if the clerical offender confessed or was convicted, the protection of the church was to be withheld from him in the future. Save for this, the church could do what it liked with its own. But its punishment of the criminous cleric was to involve degradation from his orders so that he had no claim to clerical immunity for a second offence. The effect was that for a first offence the cleric was let off with the mild punishments which a sympathetic tribunal of men of his own profession was empowered to mete out to the erring cleric.

This is all that the plain text of the Assize of Clarendon requires of the clerical offender. But it is very possible that Henry may have indirectly asked for more than this. He may also have demanded that the criminous clerk, after conviction and degradation from his orders in the ecclesiastical court, should be brought back to the civil court and then be condemned to the barbarous punishments which the middle ages inflicted upon the peccant layman. That this was insisted upon by the king is the weighty judgment of the late F. W. Maitland, supported by texts and analogies from canon law.[1] Moreover, the view is supported by the statement of two chronicles, not very far removed in time and both written by men who had no ill will to Henry II.[2] It is also borne out by the argument used by Thomas himself against the king that God himself does not punish a man twice for the

[1] F. W. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, iii. 232-250, the most illuminating essay dealing with the problem of the criminous clerk.

[2] Diceto i. 313: "Rex decreverat . . . ut . . . curiae traderet puniendos. In contrarium sentiebant episcopi, quos enim exauctorauent a manu judicali contendebant protegere, alioquin bis judicatur in idipsum." Compare Hoveden, i. 219-20: "Rex volebat presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos et alias ecclesiarum rectores ducere ad secularia examina et punire sicut in laicos."

same offence.[1] The church courts could not deal out punishment affecting life or limb. But, besides degradation, they could inflict penance, imprisonment, fines, and other fairly adequate penalties. How far they did so for ordinary civil offences is another matter.

If Henry made this claim, he went too far. It is significant that, after Thomas' murder, we hear no more about it. It may well have been that under these circumstances the king had to draw in his horns. Anyhow the latter mediæval practice of benefit of clergy knew nothing of such reference back to the secular court for punishment, though in the appearance of the clerk before the king's court to plead his clergy, in the remittance of proved clerks to the ecclesiastical court, it secured exactly what Henry had certainly asked for in the constitutions of Clarendon. But in later times the action of the church court was from this point final. An offender relegated to the *forum ecclesiasticum* was normally left to expiate his misdeeds by such punishment as bishop or archdeacon inflicted in accordance with the canon law. It was mainly in cases of heresy that the church courts invoked the secular arm to carry out the death sentence which the canons forbade them to impose.

It is important to grasp the line taken up by the high-flying ecclesiastic of the period. Otherwise we may fail to appreciate the point of view of men like Thomas or John of Salisbury. There is little danger of the modern reader being equally unsympathetic to the king's attitude. This is simply the claim of the state to control all its subjects. It was put on behalf of the king because the twelfth century could conceive no other form of state than monarchy, and for that reason when it claimed "divine right" for kings, it did not exalt monarchy at the expense of republicanism. It simply asserted the divine origin and sanction, the naturalness, as the Greeks put it, of the state. But monarchical authority, though the only conceivable form of polity in the twelfth century, was in practice exceedingly greedy and oppressive. The best of kings were pretty unscrupulous tyrants: the petty feudal prince was often very much worse than the more responsible lord of a great state. But the great monarchs of the twelfth century, with all their brutalities, were making an orderly state of society possible and so were promoting the course of civilisation. Moreover,

[1] "Non enim Deus judicat bis in idipsum;" Will. Cant. in *Materials*, i. 28. The same phrase, perhaps borrowed, is in Diceto, as above. William was the earlier writer.

they were so powerful that it needed a rare courage in a man with no armed force behind him to set himself up against the king's pleasure. The lay lord might rely upon his own armed following: but the prelate had little to fall back upon except moral force. And there is always something respectable in the resistance to physical force by moral force. Already by the twelfth century public opinion had its weight even against the strong man armed. From this aspect of the case St. Thomas deserves, at least, respect.

Thomas has been sometimes regarded as the champion of all sorts of causes with which he had nothing to do. It is easy, however, to say what he was not fighting for. No man now believes with Thierry that he was the champion of Englishmen against Normans, and we must now dismiss the notion that he was an early example of resistance to "unconstitutional" taxation, a doctrine which attracted Stubbs, though that prudent scholar never really committed himself to it. But nationality, like taxation by consent, representative assemblies, and all the paraphernalia of later constitutionalism, was not yet in existence. A twelfth century man must be judged by twelfth century standards. These standards were universal, cosmopolitan, international—however you like to put it. The strong international bent of the western church secured for all Roman christendom a common standard of ideals. And if there were no national state, still less could there be a national church. It would be futile to regard the little bickerings of Thomas with Alexander III as a protest of the head of the English church against a foreign ecclesiastic. To Thomas, as to all men of his time, the pope was the supreme head of the church whose *ex cathedra* utterances no good Christian might gainsay.

This, then, was the cause for which Thomas believed himself to be fighting. It was the battle of ecclesiastical liberty, the supremacy of things of the mind and soul over things of the world and the body. What the liberty of the church quite meant, he did not so much define as assume. This battle for ecclesiastical freedom he fought, strenuously indeed and with all his might. But he fought it violently, tactlessly, intemperately, unscrupulously even, playing for his own hand with almost as much recklessness as Henry II showed in the conflict against him. It was this impolitic rashness that tended to withdraw from Thomas much support on which he believed he could have counted. It was his trouble that he got so little sympathy even among

churchmen, that his fellow metropolitan, Roger of York, was his worst enemy, that most of the bishops were on the king's side, that even the pope and the austere Cistercians feared to incur the king's anger by upholding the self-appointed champion of the church's cause. Thomas felt his loneliness exceedingly, but he fiercely resented the cowardice, and time serving, which, as he imagined, stood at the back of the lukewarmness of his brethren. He was the more convinced that he was fighting the cause of God because he found so little sympathy among men.

Besides the obvious tendency which impelled worldly ecclesiastics to make themselves friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, there were other reasons why public opinion was so nicely divided. Some of the bishops opposed to Thomas,—Gilbert Foliot of London, for instance,—were in their way as high minded as the archbishop himself. But the chief factor in the situation was that there was no clear cut line of division between the policy of the king and that of the archbishop. Henry himself would probably, like most men of the twelfth century, have accepted in essentials Thomas' general doctrine of the relations of church and state. Neither Thomas nor his literary mentor showed any disposition to preach resistance to the divine right of the political state. It was not so much the clash of opposite principles as of opposite temperaments. It is not very likely that Henry had a very clear theory of the state, but if he had, I feel sure that it would have been hard to fit it in in practice with Thomas' theory of the church. It is for the philosopher or the divine to say which of their theories was true. But the historian must record that all through the middle ages the champions of the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium* went on stating their own side without much reference to their enemies' position. And nobody even seemed a penny the worse for these incompatibilities. The two doctrines were each asserted independently and out of relation to each other. Neither then nor later did church and state fight out a square issue of principle. The points in dispute were intricate, personal, historical, and practical details. William the Conqueror and Lanfranc doubtless differed in principle as much as Henry II and Thomas. But their personal friendliness and their practical good sense enabled each to keep his principles in his pocket and live on good terms with his rival. Thomas and Henry were so similar in their eagerness, their self will, their violence of

language, and their blind forgetfulness of the situation as a whole that they were bound to be at variance. Had they quarrelled on broad issues, they could hardly have even pretended to a reconciliation which left all those issues untouched. However these things may be, it is unlikely that in his lifetime Thomas could have won his posthumous reputation as the protagonist of ecclesiastical liberty.

The liberty of holy church is a fine phrase but a vague one, too vague to stir men to join issues unless it be more closely defined. Not even the most obstinate of mediæval kings would have denied the principle of ecclesiastical freedom, however much he over-ruled it in practice. Every monarch, from Henry I to Edward I, who issued a charter of liberties wrote down as the first article "Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit". But did this broad platitude take anybody any farther? All depended on its definition, and the only definition that the most detailed of the charters gave to it was that illusory freedom of election to bishoprics and abbeys, always conceded in theory, always denied in practice. There was nothing in such an issue to stir men's blood. A martyr must lay down his life for something more concrete than this vague abstraction. But we have no reason for not believing that to Thomas the freedom of the church meant something very real and living. But he went into exile, not to uphold this abstraction, but because the king and he were incompatible in temper and disagreed upon very concrete questions of detail.

The same vagueness of position that marked Thomas' controversial attitude from 1164 to 1170 did not extend to the definite point of issue which he took up when he got back to Canterbury in December, 1170. This was the defence of the rights of the see of Canterbury against the encroachments of Archbishop Roger of York. It was for this limited cause that Thomas, as a matter of fact, died, and it is a commonplace with his modern critics to say that it was hardly a cause worth dying for. It is true that the trivial disputes of the two archbishops as to the right of each to bear his cross erect in the province of his rival are among the most ridiculous of the long quarrels about very little that are so characteristic of the litigious middle ages. But there was something more than personal rivalry involved. The rights of the church of Canterbury seemed to Thomas and to many more thoughtful men a thing worth fighting for. It was not only the personal ill will between two old enemies that so far embittered the strife of

the northern and southern metropolitans. Remember how much Canterbury had lost within living memory! How Lanfranc had been forced to recognise the Archbishop of York, a mere titular metropolitan before this period, as an equal, though less dignified, sharer in the ecclesiastical government of England. How Roger, with the king's connivance, had striven to filch away from Thomas the position of papal legate, an effort the more alarming since Henry of Winchester, another aspirant to the pallium of a metropolitan, had usurped the apostolic legation in Theobald's early days. Moreover, Gilbert Foliot was contemplating a new, or reviving an old, archbishopric of London, and Gerald of Wales was before long to put down a similar claim for St. David's. A recent pope had taken away from Canterbury its vague jurisdiction over the Danish bishops of the Irish coast towns by providing Ireland with four up-to-date metropolitans of its own. All these things might well make Thomas alarmed for the rights of the church of Canterbury. Here at least he had the pope strongly on his side, for the attack on Canterbury was also an attack on the curia. We could forgive Thomas the more easily but for the personal rancour which he threw into his assault. But Roger was cruelly revenged when the swords of the four knights made Thomas the archbishop Thomas the martyr.

We must now go on to what I have called the posthumous history of St. Thomas. This is out and away more important than his personal life. This is what gave Thomas his real place in history. So long as he lived, he was one angry man quarrelling with others. His opponents seemed to many wise men to have just as good a cause as the hot-headed Archbishop of Canterbury. The moment of his cruel death there was but one opinion about him. The king, whom he had withstood to his face, repudiated all complicity in his murder. He atoned for the rash words that had incited his knights to perpetrate the deed by a signal penance and severe chastisement in the crypt beneath the Trinity Chapel where the martyr's bones then lay. The murderers sought by penitence, crusadings, and pilgrimage, to wipe out the stain of the martyr's blood. The monks of Christ Church dedicated to the king the great collection of Thomas' miracles by their brother monk William,[1] feeling confident that it would be a pleasing offering to the royal majesty.

[1] *Materials for the History of Thos. Becket*, i., 137 *et seq.*

The very ministers of the baffled tyrant were foremost among the champions of the martyr. Richard of Lucy, the justiciar, who had been involved in Thomas' broadcast sentences of anathema, renounced the world and retired to a house of Austin canons, founded by him in honour of St. Mary and Thomas of Canterbury, saint and martyr, and there at Lesnes he died in that black habit which Thomas had worn during all his later years. Lukewarm friends become eager partisans. The half-hearted pope made the man he had snubbed in life a canonised saint within three years of his death. The timid bishops of the province, who had checked him at every stage, were now the most loyal of the worshippers of the new saint. Gilbert Foliot of London, one of the most inveterate of Thomas' episcopal enemies, recovered from a grievous sickness by vowing that if he recovered he would visit the tomb of the martyred Thomas.[1] The few faithful friends rejoiced in his fame, and glorified his sufferings. John of Salisbury, called within a few years to become ruler of the church of Chartres, styled himself "bishop by the grace of God and the favour of St. Thomas the Martyr". There were no two opinions now about Thomas' merits and sanctity. He was now in very truth the martyr who had laid down his life for the freedom of Holy Church. All England worshipped his memory, believed in the countless cures worked by his relics, and went forth on pilgrimage to his shrine. The live Thomas had ploughed his lonely furrow amidst the indifference or hostility of the mass of Englishmen. The dead Thomas was acclaimed on all sides as a saint and a martyr. Yet the substantial continuance of the "customs" against which Thomas had protested showed that even the saint and martyr was not omnipotent. The only important article of the Constitutions of Clarendon which altogether missed fire was the one forbidding appeals to Rome without the sanction of the crown. But here, at least, the king was the innovator, and so trenchant an attack on the liberty of the church universal failed because every good Christian believed with all his heart that the supreme and unlimited ecclesiastical power was inherent in the pope, the vicar of Christ on earth, the "universal ordinary". Accordingly while Henry evaded in making his submission to the pope any formal renunciation of the Constitutions of Clarendon, he was constrained to agree that appeals to the pope should be allowed.

[1] *Miracula S. Thomae* in *Materials*, i. 251-252.

The results of the swift revolution of feeling following on the martyrdom of St. Thomas were conspicuous for the rest of the middle ages. At last England had produced a saint of world-wide reputation, whose tomb rivalled the shrine of the three kings and the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne, or the burial place of St. James the Apostle at Compostella in Spain. The most holy of pilgrim resorts, the threshold of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, nay, the sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem itself, could hardly boast of a greater affluence of the faithful than that which sought help from, or returned thanks to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Not only did the pilgrims throng, as Chaucer tells us, from "every shire's end of England". The steady rush of pilgrims from beyond sea compensated in some fashion for the outflow of British pilgrims to foreign sanctuaries. They came high and low, gentle and simple. The pilgrim records of three centuries include kings of France, such as Louis VII and John, who visited the shrine on his release from captivity in 1360. Kings and princes deemed it a privilege to lay their bones hard by the sacred dust of the archbishop. Edward the Black Prince ordered his burial at Canterbury in a space adjacent to the tomb of Thomas the "true martyr". Henry IV, the clerically minded king, chose the same place of sepulture. Neither of these princes thought that they were in anywise abdicating their sovereign claims in this association with St. Thomas. He was the saint of all good Englishmen. And not of Englishmen only. Western emperors, like Sigismund of Luxemburg and Charles V, eastern emperors, like Manuel, could not complete a visit to England without the Canterbury pilgrimage. There is no need to labour these points. The literature, the social life, the language, the very oaths of Englishmen reflect the power of the dead Thomas over the mind of the everyday man. The extraordinary splendour of St. Thomas' shrine, glittering with gold and silver, with jewels and precious stones, bore testimony enough to the mightiness of the saint whose bones were thus so honourably interred. All over Christendom relics of St. Thomas were in the highest request.

Three illustrations may be briefly given of the posthumous influence of St. Thomas upon the western church. Two shall be general, and one local to his own church of Canterbury. The general illustrations are founded on the extent of territory over which his miraculous powers were reputed to be exercised, and the wide diffusion of the dedication

of churches and monasteries in honour of his memory. The local illustration shall be the extent to which the imitation of St. Thomas was an abiding principle to his successors in the church of Canterbury.

The long catalogues of miracles wrought by the intercession of St. Thomas are for the most part rather monotonous and unprofitable reading. But they have their value, and that a many-sided one. For us their interest must be limited to the proof they afford of the widespread cult of the saint. The first marvels happened, naturally enough, at Kent, and notably at Canterbury. But if we turn over the two lists of miracles, drawn up within a few years of Thomas' martyrdom by Benedict and William, both monks of Canterbury, we shall see how little the saint's wonders were limited to his own locality. We read of cures wrought on a clerk of Orleans and how a blasphemous clerk of Nantes was condignly punished. The burgesses of Bedford send to the church of Canterbury a well-attested list of miracles wrought by St. Thomas in their midst. A knight of Pontefract has his son restored to life; a moribund canon of Beverley was restored to health; a Warwickshire nun was cured of epilepsy. There were cures in Wales and in Ireland, in Normandy and in Poitou, in Hainault and in Artois, in Flanders and in Périgord, at Piacenza and at Genoa, in Slesvig and in Sweden, in Germany and in Russia, in the Holy Land and on the Mediterranean. Not only men and women, but brute beasts profited by his potent intercession. St. Thomas restored to life a gander near Canterbury, and a sucking pig, drowned in Norfolk, was brought to life on being devoted to St. Thomas. Nay, well-established saints showed a rare delicacy of feeling in declining to perform their accustomed miracles and in advising the afflicted to give a chance to the new saint. Thus patients to whom our Lady of Rocamadour in Quercy and the great Saint Denis of France would afford no relief, obtained the hoped-for cure by St. Thomas' mighty intercession.

For all these benefits a pilgrimage to Canterbury was not a necessary preliminary. Many pilgrimages were in recognition of favours already received. A general means of cure was the "water of St. Thomas," a fluid which contained some of the martyr's blood. It was taken away from Canterbury by pilgrims in small leaden bottles, the bearing of which became the characteristic mark of the pilgrim of St. Thomas.

Dedications to St. Thomas soon became very frequent. One of

the first was Richard of Lucy's abbey of Lesnes in Erith, which has been mentioned already. Other religious houses dedicated to St. Thomas include Beauchief near Sheffield, Woodspring near Weston in Somerset, Bec in Norfolk, on the pilgrim's road to our Lady of Walsingham, and the Eastbridge hospital in Canterbury, sometimes said to be founded by Thomas himself. All these were convents of some sort of regular canons, mainly of Austin canons, whose black habit St. Thomas himself wore, though never formally a member of any order. They were largely devoted to eleemosynary and hospital work, a circumstance which enabled the most famous hospital, dedicated to St. Thomas, to survive the Reformation and continue its beneficent work to our own day. This is the great London hospital at St. Thomas, "refounded" by Henry VIII after his unique fashion of getting glory from other people's money, but luckily still preserving its original dedication, though few Londoners know that it is dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury and not to St. Thomas the Apostle. The same is the case with a great multitude of parish churches, now simply called after St. Thomas, and sometimes specifically called from St. Thomas the Apostle by reason of a change of dedication in the reign of Henry VIII. Indeed it may well be true of the great majority, for the doubting apostle was no favourite in mediæval England, and apart from post mediæval dedications we may claim the mass of early Thomas churches for the saint of Canterbury. Besides individual dedications a whole order was established under Thomas' invocation. This was the only English order of crusading knights; the order of St. Thomas of Acre, founded in the Holy Land when the saints' memory was still fresh. Its London house in Cheapside was established on the site of the home of the saint's parents, where Thomas first saw the light. It was conveyed to the order by St. Thomas' sister. But the community never greatly flourished. It lost its *raison d'être* when in 1291 Acre fell to the infidel. It dragged on only an obscure existence until the Reformation. To these dedications we must add altars, chapels, commemorative pictures and the like, rare now in England, thanks to Henry VIII, but still found abroad where Thomas' memory was almost as famous as at home. There is an early mosaic of St. Thomas in the cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo, set up by William, the good king of Sicily, who married a daughter of Henry II.

Canterbury naturally remained the focus of the cult of St. Thomas. Let us therefore revert again to our local illustrations. Its cathedral was in popular belief "the church of St. Thomas,"[1] though it seems certain that it was always officially styled Christ Church. Just as Thomas had braced himself up to martyrdom by the example of his predecessors Alphege and Anselm, so his successors at Canterbury found in his career an incentive to duty, notably to stand for the freedom of the church and especially for the church of Canterbury. This did not prevent archbishops quarrelling with the monks of Christ Church, where excessive privileges made them almost independent of their diocesan and nominal abbot. But the wealth that St. Thomas brought to Christ Church made the monks' position against the Archbishop even more impregnable than ever. This Archbishop Baldwin found to his cost when compelled to desist from his attempt to set up a rival secular college, which might become his cathedral, first at Hackington, then at Lambeth. There was little that smacked of truth in the allegation of his proctor at Rome that St. Thomas had initiated this undertaking.[2] St. Thomas, who quarrelled with all men, never quarrelled with the monks of Christ Church. And of how few mediæval archbishops could this be said?

The influence of St. Thomas on his successors came out first in the case of Stephen Langton, who when involved, like St. Thomas, in hostility to the king, consoled himself for his exclusion from England by seeking a refuge at Pontigny amidst the scenes hallowed by Thomas' abode in exile. Returned to England, Langton procured that famous translation of 7 July, 1220, whose seventh centenary has recently been celebrated. The vast concourse of the faithful, their lavish entertainment by the archbishop and his own sermon on that occasion afford the best of testimonies to the influence of Thomas' career on the mind of his distinguished successor. A very different archbishop to the great theologian and statesman was the pious and gentle Edmund of Abingdon, who, finding the business of ruling the English church in troublous times too much for his sensitive and scrupulous temper,

[1] Erasmus, in describing his famous "peregrinatio religionis ergo" to Canterbury, does not scruple to call Christchurch "templum divo Thomae sanctum" and "quod nunc appellatur sancti Thomae," *Colloquia*, p. 312 (1754).

abandoning his charge in despair, ended his life at Pontigny, meditating on the example of his predecessor and emulating his ascetic practices. He had his reward in the honours of sanctity, being the only archbishop since Thomas admitted into the canon. Behind the high altar of the great church of Pontigny, in which Thomas and Stephen had prayed, the sanctified body of St. Edmund can still be seen enshrined, having escaped the iconoclasm alike of sixteenth century Calvinism and of modern Jacobinism.

The example of a fighting saint like Thomas appealed with even more force to archbishops of combative instincts than to a man of the type of St. Edmund of Abingdon. Archbishop John Peckham, the Franciscan friar, who was always on the verge of a great conflict with Edward I, but whose prudence, combined with that of the king, prevented at the eleventh hour more than the mere preliminaries of strife, declared that when he came to Canterbury he set before himself to follow in the footsteps of the glorious martyr Thomas and to defend with all his might the freedom of the Church, which was, he believed, in his days more trodden under foot by the world than had even been the case when Thomas laid down his life in that sacred cause.[1] Far less saintly archbishops than the high-minded and excellent Peckham followed the same policy. Peckham's successor, Robert Winchelsea, who fought for the freedom of the baronage as well as of the church, and succeeded in imposing real checks on the power of Edward I by wresting from him the most complete confirmation of the Great Charter, was inspired by the same examplar of devotion. And worst of all, a self-seeking worldling like John Stratford, who had won high office in the church by the most questionable means and whose place in history is purely that of a statesman, when driven by Edward III from office, shut himself up in Christ Church, Canterbury, and preached against his enemy the king in a series of sermons in which he compared himself with St. Thomas. There is some declension here from the mediæval ideal.

Mediæval traditions were now rapidly losing their hold over men's minds. Thirty years later another archbishop, Simon of Sudbury, dared to tell a throng of Canterbury pilgrims who were making their way to the jubilee of 1370 that the plenary indulgence they

[1] Peckham's *Letters*, i. 22, "proponens gloriosi martyris Thomae sequi vestigia"; *cf.* i. 243, "martyrem non facit pœna sed causa".

sought for was of little avail to those that did not approach the shrine with clean hands and a pure heart. Not only the piety but the vested interests of the Kentish inn-keepers and shop-keepers that profited by the pilgrimages, bitterly resented this saying. The cruel death of Archbishop Simon in 1381, at the hands of the Kentish mob that followed Wat Tyler to London, was looked upon as the vengeance of St. Thomas upon the impious archbishop that spoke lightly of the spiritual benefits of the Canterbury pilgrimage. Yet the poet Gower prosily compares the death of Simon and the death of Thomas :—

> Disparilis causa manet et mors una duobus.
> Immerito patitur justus uterque tamen.[1]

Worse was now to come. The gentle satire that underlies Chaucer's immortal framework of the Canterbury pilgrimage shows how the journey to St. Thomas' shrine was now to most men a holiday junketing rather than a week of earnest piety. The famous pilgrimage of Erasmus and Colet, which Erasmus has so brilliantly described, showed both in the scoffing of the humanist sceptic, and in the hot indignation of the earnest theologian who accompanied him, that St. Thomas' reign over men's minds was coming to an end. The huckstering spirit that spoilt the jubilee of 1520 because the Christ Church monks and the Roman curia could not agree upon the sharing of the spoils shows a further stage of declension. The final act came when Henry VIII destroyed Thomas' shrine, erased his name from the service books, and bade all men cease to worship " Bishop Becket," because he was neither a saint nor a martyr, but a false knave and a traitor. Then to the scandal of all old believers, Henry's creature, Archbishop Cranmer, openly ate meat in his palace on the eve of the feast of the most famous of Canterbury saints. It remains for us to draw the balance between the blind enthusiasms of the twelfth century and the vulgar iconoclasm of the sixteenth.

Nowadays there is no need to dwell upon the strain of superstition, credulity, imposture, money-making, and mere holiday junketing that in all ages had their share in the cult of a popular mediæval saint like St. Thomas. There is as little occasion to overstress the fanaticism, one-sidedness, and mere greed for worldly wealth and power that inspired much of the imitation of St. Thomas, and were not altogether

[1] *Vox Clamantis* in *Works*, i. 52, ed. Macaulay.

absent in the career of Thomas himself. But these excesses lay outside the root of the matter, and it is beside the mark to treat these exuberances as if they were the essence of the whole thing. With all his faults Thomas was a great, an appealing, and a human figure, and if his posthumous worship soon smothered up the man, and replaced him by an abstract image of devotion to ecclesiastical liberty, both St. Thomas, as he really was, and St. Thomas, as he appeared to be to posterity, have their place in history, and that not an altogether unhonoured or discreditable one. Unshrinking courage and devotion to an ideal are none too common, whether in St. Thomas' days or since for it. It was no ungenerous instinct that led twelfth century Englishmen to the worship of St. Thomas, for the cause, as it seemed, of freedom against tyranny, right against might, the spiritual and moral law against the forces of the world. There was not only sympathy for his cause. There was genuine pity for his sufferings. Rude and cruel as mediæval man commonly was, he was capable of great outbursts of genuine emotion. And nothing moved him more profoundly than a tale of a piteous end, and of a great career cut short by profane violence. Many worse men than St. Thomas excited compassion by reason of the tragedy of their fall from greatness. There was a cry for the canonisation of such men as Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and his cousin and rival King Edward II, men whose lives were evil, selfish, and purposeless, and whose enmities were based on little save personal animosities of a low kind. There were pilgrimages to the chapel outside Pontefract when Earl Thomas' headless corpse lay buried, and the tomb of King Edward in Gloucester Abbey threatened to attract a confluence of votaries as lucrative to St. Peter's at Gloucester as the cult of St. Thomas was to the convent of Christ Church at Canterbury. The good sense and moderation of the papacy saved England from the scandal of the canonisation of such men. Alexander III had shown politic moderation in mitigating the tempestuous violence of Thomas in his lifetime. He was swept off his feet by the wave of feeling excited by the cruel deed of the four knights, and canonised Thomas with a haste only paralleled by the canonisation of St. Francis within two years of his death. Thomas was no beautiful character, no pervading spiritual influence, no faithful imitator of Christ, as was Francis. He was, however, a much more characteristic man of his times, and because he was, so to say, a glorification of a

common type, it was the easier for his claims to sanctity to satisfy the somewhat exacting yet rigid standards of the papal curia. It is almost as difficult to regard him merely as an ambitious priest grasping after power as it is for most moderns to believe in the miracles wrought at his shrine, well attested as many of them are.

Whatever be Thomas' claims to sanctity, there is no doubt as to the great part he played in history. The first of our great chancellors, the most famous, though not the greatest, of our archbishops of Canterbury, the most strenuous of vindicators of the freedom which the middle ages best knew, the freedom of the church, the most piteous of victims of a cruel deed of blood, and finally, by far the most universally reputed and widely famous of English saints, St. Thomas of Canterbury claims a high place not only as among the conspicuous figures of his own age, but as one who made his influence felt and strongly felt in English history. If his power has passed away for centuries, there is still one little abiding influence of Thomas that can be felt by all who still date the latter season of the Christian year by Trinity Sunday and the innumerable Sundays after Trinity. It was Archbishop Thomas, we are told, who first in England set apart the octave of Pentecost for the special worship of the Holy Trinity,[1] choosing the day not so much because it was the date of his episcopal consecration, but because it was the day of the first mass which the newly priested primate had ever sung. England from his example at once took up the new feast. It only gradually became general, but at last Thomas' device of a Trinity Sunday was ratified for the church universal by Pope John XXII, 170 years later, when the Sunday after Whitsunday was universally appointed as the day for the celebration of this feast. But to this day the Roman calendar reckons the Sundays between Whitsunday and Advent as Sundays after Pentecost. Post Reformation England in still describing the summer and autumn Sundays as Sundays after Trinity is, all unconsciously, showing that the will of St. Thomas of Canterbury still exercises some special sort of influence in St. Thomas' own land.

[1] *Gervase Cant. Cont.*, i. 171 (1162) "consecratus autem . . . Cantuariensis archiepiscopus instituit festivitatem principalem sanctæ Trinitatis singulis annis in perpetuum die octavarum Pentecostes celebrandam, unde et ipse eadem die missam celebravit."

Note on the Authorities.

The chief original sources for the history of St. Thomas are collected by Canon Robertson and Dr. Sheppard in the seven volumes of *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, published in the Rolls Series. This collection includes the chief biographies, the contemporary accounts of the miracles reputed to be worked by his remains, and a large collection of his letters. The modern literature devoted to the subject is more conspicuous for its bulk than for its value, much of it being inspired by controversial rather than historical motives. Perhaps the best of the formal biographies is the second edition, written from the Catholic point of view, by the Rev. Canon J. Morris, styled *Life and Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket* (1885). There is also a good account of his early life in the Rev. L. B. Radford's *Thomas of London before his Consecration*. Among the not very edifying controversial literature produced by Thomas' career is the polemic of E. A. Freeman against the well written but unsatisfactory studies of J. A. Froude, reprinted in his *Short Studies*, vol. iv. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, vol. i., and Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, vol. i., expound with great moderation and scholarship two rather different points of view. To these Maitland's article on *Henry II and the Criminous Clerks*, already referred to, must be added. There is a good short biography by the late Miss Kate Norgate under Thomas in vol. lvi. of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A glimpse into some of the contemporary records can be obtained from W. H. Hutton's *St. Thomas of Canterbury* in the series called *English History from the Contemporary Writers*. Canon A. J. Mason's *What became of the Bones of St. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1920) is an interesting and valuable contribution to the saint's fifteenth jubilee, and also includes a study of the narratives of the passion, a history of the tomb and shrine, as well as of the supposed discovery of the bones in 1888, copiously illustrated from original sources. The late Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral* give a vivid and picturesque but not too scholarly an account of Thomas' last days and posthumous reputation.

GIAMBATTISTA VICO: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PIONEER.[1]

By C. E. VAUGHAN, M.A., Litt.D.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS.

THE man of whom I am about to speak, Giambattista Vico, was born in 1668, the year after the publication of *Paradise Lost*, and died in 1744, the year of the death of Pope. He was almost unknown during his life; he remained unknown for nearly a century after his death. Michelet, the great French historian, was the first scholar to form any just estimate of his importance: to comprehend, even remotely, the significance of the ideas which he flung upon the world, of the vast fabric of learning and criticism which he built upon them. Close on a century has passed since Michelet (1828) rediscovered the man who already had lain for nearly a century in his grave; and I doubt whether, even now, more than a handful of scholars, beyond the bounds of Italy, are aware of what the world owes to him: of the manifold directions in which he anticipated the most fruitful developments of modern thought, the most pregnant results of modern criticism and research.

He was above all things a pioneer. He opened a new page in political philosophy, and incidentally in the study of Greek and Roman History. He founded the study of Comparative Mythology and the kindred subjects. He was the first to attempt what has since been called a Philosophy of History. He was the herald of that movement which, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, gave a new birth to European poetry.

How, in the short time before us, can I hope to justify this estimate? to convey to you any notion of the vast field which this obscure scholar made his own?

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 9 March, 1921.

Let me begin by recalling to your mind the general trend of thought and feeling in Western Europe at the time when he was growing to manhood: the broad outlines which the inner world, the world of thought and imagination, presented to a man whose life covered the last third of the seventeenth century and nearly the first half of the eighteenth.

In the field of poetry, of imaginative thought and temper, we all know the main features, the prevailing atmosphere, of the time. It was the age of Dryden and Pope, in England; of Boileau and his dearly prized "good sense," his "legislation of Parnassus," in France; of a tribe of forgotten poetasters who feebly followed in the tracks laid down by Pope or Boileau, in Germany, Italy and Spain. It was an age, that is, when Poetry was coming more and more to renounce its own nature; to forget its true task which is to create, to "body forth the forms of things unseen"; and to content itself with reproducing, still more with analyzing, material avowedly given to it from without: in a word, an age when Poetry, in the higher and nobler sense of the word, was for the moment sunk in a deep sleep.

Turn to the field of speculative thought, and we can trace the working of much the same forces; though, for reasons which will suggest themselves to every one, with far less fatal results. It was the age of Hobbes and Locke, leading on, with inexorable logic, to the age of Hume and the sceptics, of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. It was an age, once again, in which reason came more and more to renounce, or rather flatly to deny, its creative faculty: more and more to resign itself to the humbler task of registering and analyzing the material given through the senses from without: an age, therefore, of materialism, first veiled then exultant, as regards the sources and scope of man's knowledge; of pure hedonism or utilitarianism, as regards his active existence, his motives and purposes as a moral being.

Now, against all this Vico was, by instinct, in stark rebellion. It is his historical importance to have raised, to have been the first to raise, the standard of revolt against it. Others, no doubt, eventually followed in his steps: some of them, perhaps, of a genius yet greater, all of them with an influence much more powerful and far-reaching, than his. But the earliest of these, Rousseau, did not begin to write until five years after Vico's death; he did not reach the full height of his powers until a dozen years later (1762). In other words, Vico, whose

chief work (*La Scienza Nuova*) was first published in 1725,[1] forestalled the earliest of his followers by at least a generation. And if we take the more special achievements of his genius, his work as pioneer in Comparative Mythology, his work as interpreter of early Roman History, his work in Homeric criticism, we see that he forestalled Niebuhr by at least three-quarters of a century, Wolf by much the same interval, and Jakob Grimm by more than a century. All these men, apparently in complete ignorance of their forerunner, were engaged in exploring the mines of thought and learning which Vico had laid open a hundred years, more or less, before they entered on their task. In the whole history of literature I know of nothing quite parallel to this.

If anything could increase our surprise at so strange a portent, it is the surroundings in which Vico was born and bred. He was an Italian: an Italian of the days when Italy, once in the vanguard of thought and imaginative creation, had sunk to compete with Spain for the place of the most corrupt and nerveless race of Western Europe. More than that: he was a Neapolitan; and of all the Italian States, Naples—overrun by brigands, its sovereignty divided between a race of alien degenerates, the Spanish Bourbons, and a native rabble of sturdy beggars—was the worst governed and the most backward. Who could have supposed that such a community was capable of giving birth to the most independent thinker of his time? to the man whose mission it was, as we can now see, to revolutionize the intellectual and imaginative temper of all Europe?—

> Via prima salutis,
> Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.

Yes, here, in the very backwash of an outworn civilization, lived and died the author of the *New Science:* an obscure professor of Rhetoric, eking out his scanty pittance by giving private lessons in grammar and composing fulsome eulogies of Popes, Cardinals and Arch-Duchesses.

I. Such were the surroundings of the worker. Let us now turn to see him at work. And first—for that is the main purpose of the New Science—at work as reformer of Political Philosophy. What

[1] The Second Version, which is an entirely new book, was published in 1730. A revision of this Version was published in the year of Vico's death (1744); it is this which forms the text of the Second Version in Ferrari's Edition (6 Vols., Milan, 1854).

had been the leading ideas, what the outstanding results, of those who had toiled in this field during the century or so before Vico ? of Hobbes and Locke, on the one hand ; of Spinoza, on the other ?

The practical conclusions of these men were widely different. All, however, were agreed on at least one point : they all accepted the theory of a Social Contract. They all assumed, that is, an original "state of nature"—a state in which every individual was wholly independent of all the rest ; then a contract between these isolated individuals : a contract providing for the establisment of civil society and a settled government. But, as you are doubtless aware, the theory of Contract, like most other theories which for a time find general acceptance, was a theory which lent itself to the most motley interpretations. It was a blank form, which could adapt itself to the most diverse assumptions and be made to yield the most contradictory conclusions. In the hands of Hobbes, it led to pure despotism, the most unmitigated despotism that the wit of man has ever conceived. In the hands of Locke, it was a charter of freedom, of freedom based upon the natural rights of the individual. In the hands of Spinoza, finally, it became the pure gospel of utilitarianism, the theory which regards civil society as formed and sustained solely by the play of individual interests.

Yet all these theories have one assumption in common : the assumption that the natural state of man is a state of individual isolation. All of them, therefore, are at bottom markedly individualist. This is so even with Hobbes whose individuals are, in the state of nature, more completely isolated from—indeed, more hostile to—each other than in any other form of this Protean theory ; and for whom, even after civil society, the great Leviathan, has taken shape, they still remain equally isolated : herded, rather than held, together only by common terror of the tyrant's sword and, because isolated, destined to succumb all the more helplessly before the tyrant's unlimited power. It is so still more obviously with Locke and Spinoza : with the one, in virtue of his individual rights—the fountain-head of modern individualism ; with the other, in virtue of his insistence upon the all-sufficiency of individual interests.

Now to all these theories, alike to their form and to their matter, alike to their Contract machinery and to the ideas which lay behind it, Vico was in violent hostility. And his main ground of complaint

is that all alike—machinery, ideas, assumptions—are flagrantly unhistorical.

And firstly for the machinery. The state of nature, with all its apparatus of natural rights and individual isolation ; the contract concluded by men who, from the nature of the case, cannot be supposed to have known what a promise means : all these things manifestly belong to the realm of fiction : they have no relation to the realities of history or to any thing remotely resembling the realities of history. They are not only against all the evidence available, but against all probability. We may go further : we may say that they are not only improbable, but impossible.

And what about the ideas behind the machinery ? At this point we part company with Hobbes. His conclusions were too extravagant ; and Vico, very wisely, does not hold them worth powder and shot. He concerns himself solely with Locke and Spinoza, assailing them, as before, mainly on historical grounds.

We begin with Locke and his theory of natural rights : that theory which did not die with Locke and his disciples, but is still the theory of popular philosophy at the present day. It is true, Vico admits, that men are often moved to fight for their rights. But, if you ask what those rights were in the early ages of recorded history, you will find that they are precisely *not* the rights of the individual—rights the same always, everywhere and for all—but the rights of a class : the rights, for instance, of the Patricians as against the Plebeians, of the Plebeians as against the Patricians. And even in our own day, we may add, are things so very different ? Now, the rights of classes stand in the sharpest contrast with the rights of individuals. So far from being the same for all, they necessarily involve a conflict of claims ; and the rights of one class are often, truly or falsely, taken to be the wrongs of another.

The truth is that the idea of natural rights, common to man " as he is man " is not in any sense a part of man's original heritage. It is not a spontaneous outgrowth of man's instincts, of his practical reason ; it is the creation of the philosophers. It is not the gift of what Vico calls *sapienza volgare*, the wisdom of the crowd, but of *sapienza riposta*, the recondite wisdom of the sages. It was first invented by the Stoics and the Roman Jurists. It played no large part in human affairs, it had no wide influence upon human conduct, until the ap-

proach of the seventeenth century. It did not finally establish itself until, at the end of that century, it was crystallized by Locke and made current by his great authority.

We pass now to Spinoza, whose political treatises were well known to Vico, and whose theory was a predestined target for his arrows. Rejecting the doctrine of Rights, Spinoza threw himself wholeheartedly upon that of interests : working out, with extraordinary power and thoroughness, that utilitarian theory of Politics which, from three-quarters of a century to a century later, was to be restated by Hume, Helvétius and Bentham. "A company of shop-keepers, a city of hucksters" is Vico's contemptuous verdict upon this conception of the State. And I am afraid we must say it was well merited. For if experience shows anything it is this : that, if men are often governed by their interests, they are much more often, and much more tyrannously, governed by their passions, by their duties, by the traditions—social, moral and religious—in which they have been nurtured and which, subject to modification in the present, have come down to them, doubtless with many changes, from an incalculable past. The utilitarian theory, when you come to consider it, is hardly less abstract, hardly less unhistorical, than the theory of Rights. The world is peopled not by calculating machines, but by men of flesh and blood.

Against both these theories, therefore—against the champions of utility hardly less than against the champions of natural Rights—the weapon employed by Vico is the appeal to History : the appeal to the history of ideas in the one case ; the appeal to the universal experience of civil communities in the other. And when we turn, as we now do, to consider the rival and more tenable theory which he built up for himself, it is once more the same story. It is the historical method—the historical method still more rigorously applied—that he follows. In so doing, he gives an entirely new turn to Political Philosophy ; he opens the vein of inquiry which was afterwards to be deepened and widened by Montesquieu and Burke.

Pioneer as he was, it was only to be expected that he should have occasional relapses : that he should sink back now and again into the realm of fiction from which he was struggling to escape. But these blemishes are rare and, when he is once fairly started on his way, they are a thing of the past. In the sketch that I am now about to give of

his political theory, you will doubtless recognize the marks they have left; and I will leave it to you to discount them, as you think fit.

What, he asks, are the facts that meet us in the early history of the race with which we are most familiar? in the political organization, and in the Family life, of primitive Rome?

On the one hand, we are confronted with two alien races, a race of masters and a race of dependents, almost of thralls: a superior race, with exclusive powers, exclusive customs, exclusive gods of its own; and a subject race, more than half conscious of its own inferiority, with no Family organization such as the dominant race saw fit to recognize, with no powers and no rights as against their masters, and either excluded from the religion and worship of their betters, or admitted only upon sufferance. And a like state of things is revealed by what we know of the early history of Greece: by the Helots of Sparta and the vast slave population of Attica, on the one side; on the other side, by the existence of Families who called themselves Eupatridæ, Patricians, who, like the Patricians of Rome, held the monoply at first of all the offices, and until comparatively late times of all the priestly offices, in these and other States of primitive Greece. It is to be paralleled, in all probability, by the early records of the Hebrews: by the herdsmen of Lot and Abraham, by the retainers who followed the wanderings of Jacob—"With my staff I passed over Jordan, and now I am become two bands"—and, at a later age, by the Gibeonites, admitted as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Children of Israel, and by "the stranger that is within thy gates" of the Ten Commandments.

On the other hand, we are confronted with a very startling form of Family life, reproducing on a small scale that sharp conflict of alien elements which was exhibited on a large scale by the State. To each of the dominant Families, that is, was attached a large number of dependents, or Clients, whom Vico appears to identify with the Plebeians, or subject race, of the State considered as a whole. Whether so identified or no, these were at any rate for many purposes under the jurisdiction of the Head of the Family and were regarded as making up, together with the Patrician element, the Family in that wide sense which, as the word *famulus* shows, it habitually bore to the Romans. There is the further peculiarity that, as is implied in the above statement, each Family was largely independent of the community and

of the laws accepted by the community, as is shown by the *patria potestas*, the right of life and death possessed by the Head of the Family over its members : one of the strangest phenomena, surely, in the early history of mankind. It is to be paralleled possibly by the sacrifice of Iphigenia among the primitive Greeks and of Jephthah's daughter among the Hebrews : certainly by the Phœnician practice of making their sons and their daughters pass through the fire to Moloch :—

Et Pœnei solitei sos sacrificare puellos,

in the indignant cry of Ennius.

From these undoubted facts of historical ages Vico argues back to two successive stages which must, in his view, have preceded them —which are, as he holds, presupposed by them—in the prehistoric development of man. The earlier of these stages is that which gives us the first emergence of man from utter savagery : the first rude beginnings of what, for want of a better term, we may call civilization. The latter gives us the period, long or short, which intervened between those first origins and the foundation of civil communities : that is, of the historical State.

His account of the former stage, like all other attempts to solve the riddle of origins, is necessarily a web of fictions ; and it would be idle to follow him through all his labyrinth of surmises. It is enough if we pick out his most salient results : those which have the closest bearing upon the vital problems of Political Philosophy.

He infers, then, that the dominant race of early Roman and other records must have been descendants of those who first tore themselves from the life of " lawless vagrancy," the " bestial communism of goods and women," which he assumes to have been the lot of mankind during the age which immediately followed the Flood : a life in which, save for his outward form, there was nothing to show that man differed from the beasts. These earliest ancestors of the dominant race, these pioneers of all subsequent progress, must, Vico supposes, have been more delicately framed, more sensitively organized, than the common herd of mankind. Thanks to this favoured nature, they were capable of feeling awe and shame before the manifestations of a higher Power ; capable of recoiling in horror from the degradation in which they had allowed themselves to lie sunk ; capable, therefore, of wrenching themselves from it and becoming—or rather, of taking the step which would

eventually lead them to become—for the first time reasonable beings and men. Accordingly, each of them, as the new light was flashed upon him, withdrew from the state of lawless vagrancy, to live apart from his former miserable companions, each with his own chosen woman, in some cave or clearing of the primeval forest ; leaving the rest to wallow in the slough of bestiality from which he had escaped. This was the first beginning of the Family and, with it, of all that upon which the subsequent progress of mankind has been providentially built. This too, according to Vico, is the true " state of nature " for man : this, and not the life of promiscuous wandering which he had shared in common with the beasts. With this, therefore, we pass to the second stage of man's prehistoric existence, as conceived by Vico, which is essentially the age of the Family.

What, we ask, are the characteristic marks of the Family thus first established. Outwardly it was monogamous ; it was a complete unit in itself, utterly unconnected with any other Family and, still more, with any larger, more inclusive, community such as the Tribe, the City, or the State. In Vico's emphatic language, it was " monastic, Cyclopean and monarchic ". Inwardly—and this is yet more important—it was bound up with a strict code of religious observances, with a strict code of moral duties : both of them enforced by the Head of the Family, the Father, who declared the will of the Gods, conducted the sacrifices and rigorously, not to say cruelly, punished all offences whether against the religious, or against the moral, tradition : who was, in short, to use Vico's language, at once Prophet, Priest and King of his own household. It is upon the moral discipline of the primitive Family, upon the essentially religious character of the primitive Family, that Vico never ceases to insist ; and that for reasons which will at once suggest themselves to you and which, moreover, will abundantly appear in the sequel. Relics of this state of things, it must be added, are to be found on the one hand in the *patria potestas*, of which I have already spoken ; on the other, in the Family Gods, the Lares and Penates, of historical Rome ; or again in the conception of Jehovah, as the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob in *Genesis* and *Exodus*.

From what has been said, it is clear that, in the beginning, the " monastic " Family rested purely upon ties of blood : it was the Head of the household and his blood-descendants, and it was nothing

else. But the historic Family, as we have seen, included—at least in Rome and perhaps elsewhere also—an alien element: an element of dependents, clients, serfs or thralls, as the case may be. Whence was this alien element drawn? and in what manner was it incorporated?

As for the answer to the first of these questions, there can be no manner of doubt. The only possible source of such dependents, Vico urges, is from the "lawless vagrants" who were left to wander promiscuously through "the vast forest of the earth," after their betters had escaped. But how were they brought to heel? In the abstract, there are two possible ways: either by conquest or by voluntary surrender. The former must at once be rejected. The war between the settled Families and the lawless vagrants must have been a war to the knife; any prisoners taken by the settlers must have been sacrificed on the spot in cold blood: *Saturni hostiæ*, according to the grim phrase of Plautus. There remains nothing but the way of voluntary surrender: sporadic surrender on the part of these self-accused outcasts to those whom they felt to be their betters, and on terms dictated solely by the pride or avarice of their new masters. So accepted, they were gradually embodied as an integral part of the Cyclopean Family: but, once more it must be insisted, on conditions of utter dependence and subjection.

What facts, we ask, can be brought in confirmation of this hypothesis: the hypothesis of the independent Family, on the one hand? of its two distinct elements, a dominant race and a subject race, upon the other? In support of the former, we might appeal to two things: firstly to what the Old Testament actually records of the Fathers of the Jewish race: which, though not (in the strict sense of the term) prehistoric—for there are the records—refers at least to the period before the foundation of the Jewish State. I speak of the wanderings of Abraham and his household, the like wanderings of his son and grandson, the fact that none of these had either a settled home, or acknowledged any human authority above their own. Or we might appeal, as Vico does, to the tradition which lingered among Homer's Greeks concerning the Cyclopes: a tradition which is used both by Plato and Aristotle in support of the same inference as Vico's:—

θεμιστεύει δε ἕκαστος
παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.[1]

[1] *Odyssey*, ix., 114-115. See Plato, *Laws*, III., iii.; Aristotle, *Politics*, I., i.

Of the latter hypothesis—the existence, in prehistoric as in historic times, of two separate and hostile elements in the Family—he found many confirmations in the primitive Greek myths: for instance, in the story of Cadmus, his interpretation of which I hope to give in another connection. To these may be added one furnished by a famous passage of the *Odyssey*. When Ulysses, in the world of shadows, hails the shade of Achilles as "prince among the dead," Achilles answers that even the meanest earthly life is a better thing than death. And what is the lowest depth of misery that he can think of? It is the lot of the "landless master's serf":—

> Rather I choose ingloriously to bear
> A load of ills, and draw the vital air,
> The slave of some poor hind that toils for bread,
> Than reign the sceptred monarch of the dead.[1]

So much for Vico's inference as to the character of the prehistoric Family: or rather of the prehistoric age which, to him, as we have seen, was nothing more nor less than the age of the Family. How, then, was the next stage of human progress—the passage from the Family to the civil Community—brought about? and what were the marks which distinguished it from what Vico regarded as the state of nature? On the former question we are left entirely to conjecture; and it is hardly worth while to follow Vico through the maze. One thing is clear: that, as their size increased, the monastic Families must have been thrown more and more into occasions both of intercourse and of collision; and that either of these causes may readily have prompted them first to make fleeting alliance with each other, and then finally to join in some kind of lasting and organic union—the germ of the civil community, or the State. Such an union between already organized bodies, like the Families of Vico's state of nature, is manifestly a thing very different from the individualist hypothesis of an union between previously isolated individuals; and it is free from nearly all the objections to which that individualist hypothesis is exposed. For the members of a Family, especially of a Family so Spartan as Vico pictured, have already gone through a long discipline of joint action and mutual forbearance; they have already, as Hume

[1] *Odyssey*, xi., 489-491 (Pope's Translation).

was acute enough to see, had their "rough corners and untoward affections largely rubbed off" in the process.[1]

With the second question, we stand on firmer ground. The effects, though not the causes, of the change to Civil Society are writ large upon the whole subsequent history of mankind. They are matters not of conjecture, but of every day experience and of history. It is enough if we pause for a moment upon two of them. The first of these explains itself: it is simply that involved in the change from the narrower to the wider unit; from the community of blood-kinship to the community based upon similarity of religious and moral traditions, upon similarity—which does not exclude occasional, and more than occasional clashing—of interests, upon the pride men take in common memories and the maintenance of common ideals. So much for the spirit of the new creation. As for its outward form, we need say no more than that it carries with it, and necessarily carries with it, a change from monarchy to aristocracy. The head of each Family, hitherto king within his own petty realm, now takes his place on equal terms with the heads of all the other Families, in the government of the wider community, the State. On this point—and he was the first to insist upon it—Vico is positive. The assumption that Monarchy was the earliest form of civil government is, in his eyes, a pure delusion. The *Iliad* alone is enough to prove that the form prevailing in primitive Greece was Aristocracy. And the same is true of primitive Rome. Even when under titular kings, Rome, like Poland in later times, was a manifest Aristocracy. The King was no more than an elected Doge; the substance of power was in the hands of an hereditary caste of nobles: in other words, of an Aristocracy.

Thus we are back at the point from which we started: at the historical State, as revealed by the earliest records. A State composed of still largely independent Families; a State further composed of two distinct, not to say hostile, Orders or races: one dominant, the other subject. The "rights" of such a community, as the early history of Rome remains to prove, are the rights of the governing caste, the aristocracy, the Patricians; the subject caste, the Plebeians, have no rights at all. And the subsequent history of the community is one

[1] *Treatise of Human Nature*, Book III., Part II., § 2 (Vol. II., p. 260 of Green's Edition).

long struggle between the two Orders: a struggle in which the ruling caste is compelled to strip itself, one by one, of its exclusive privileges, to admit the Plebeians to one after another of the rights which, in the beginning, it had kept jealously to itself: a sacred heritage which, in the name alike of religion and morality, it was bound to guard against profanation by the "swinish multitude". Thus rights, which in their origin had been the exclusive privilege of the few, are, after ages of conflict, extended to the community at large: not, however, until the idea of Right, of moral and religious obligation, on which such rights are founded, has been previously accepted by the many, as well as by the chosen few; not until the subjects have qualified themselves for enjoying the rights of their masters by previously embracing their code of Right.

Henceforth, the rights of birth, of race, of caste are swept away. Their place is taken by those of talent, of knowledge and of virtue: the only rights which can justify themselves to reason; the only rights which confer a claim to a share in the government of any well-ordered, of any reasonable, State. And if it be asked what outward machinery is best adapted for securing their due influence to such qualities, then Vico, a born conservative, is at once ready with his answer: the establishment of a property qualification, as in the palmy days of the Roman Republic. For that is the only means of confining political power to the leisured classes; and it is in the leisured classes alone that, with due allowance for exceptions, these indispensable qualities are to be found. In this, as in all else, Rome is the type and pattern of the well-ordered State.[1]

That, in Vico's view, is the third and last revolution which marks the upward movement of human progress. All the changes that follow are but successive steps in the inevitable process of decay. The common people, having once obtained their rights, soon begin to abuse them; the property qualification is swept away; equality leads to licence; and monarchy—perhaps despotism—is invoked as the only barrier against anarchy. Monarchy, in its turn, leads to luxury and effeminacy; and that leaves the degenerate weaklings an easy prey to invaders more manly, more sober, more God-fearing than themselves. The ancient civilization is overthrown—overthrown by its own weak-

[1] *Scienza Nuova* (Second Version), p. 568.

ness, rather than by the strength of the conqueror ; and chaos comes again :—

> So she whom mighty nations curtsied to,
> Like a forlorn and desperate castaway,
> Does shameful execution on herself.

So it has been from the beginning. So it will be to the end. Founded on religion and virtue in its first crude beginnings, the community must continue to base itself on religion and virtue, or it will miserably perish. That is the inexorable law of History. That, and not the unmeaning clash of interests, is the eternal lesson which History —which Philosophy interpreting the facts of History—relentlessly drives home.

II. This must serve for a sketch of Vico's work as political philosopher. With his work in other fields we can deal more briefly. And first, for his work in Comparative Mythology and all kindred studies. A good deal of what might be said on this subject has been virtually anticipated in my account of his political philosophy ; and from his handling of Greek and Roman History you will be able to see how original was his treatment of such matters : what I meant when I said that he must be regarded as the founder of Comparative Mythology and Anthropology ; that the *Scienza Nuova* is the fountain-head to which Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* and a hundred other works, down to *The Golden Bough*, ultimately go back. A few words only need be added as to the methods which he followed and the sources from which he drew.

The method he follows here offers a curious, but very instructive, contrast to that which he adopted in Political Philosophy. In Political Philosophy—so far, that is, as he is concerned with the question of origins—his method is rigorously deductive. Starting from the undoubted facts of the earliest recorded era—facts, however, which he was the first to interpret correctly—he reasons back to the facts which they compel us to presuppose in the prehistoric era. In Comparative Mythology his method is necessarily entirely different. Here it is mainly a matter of interpreting facts. Here, therefore, induction and deduction are inseparably blended, fused in a kind of intuition, which but too readily passes into pure divination. This method, with its attendant dangers, seems to be inherent in the study. For good or for evil, they both reappear in all the capital works written on the

subject ; and Vico, as pioneer, is perhaps more exposed to the dangers than the best of his successors. In particular, he may be thought to fall too willing a slave to the idols of the lecture-room : to press everything too eagerly into the service of his own favourite studies. Yet even here, in the light of subsequent caprices, his errors are instructive. If he is apt to torture all myths into a political meaning, his successors are equally ready to clip and pare them into allegories of natural history. King Arthur has been made a solar myth ; Samson has been made a solar myth ; I know not what man or thing has not been made a solar myth. Under these circumstances, each may serve as a useful corrective to the other. Neither makes allowance enough for what Grote, with a touch of pedantry, calls the " mythopœic faculty " : the pure delight in telling a story for the story's sake. Both—each in the interest of his own pet study—expose themselves to the retort of Sganarelle : " Vous êtes orfèvre, M. Josse."

As a sample of Vico's method, both at its best and its most risky, I quote his interpretation of the myth of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth. The slaying of the serpent symbolizes the clearing of the " vast forest of the earth," the feat so often attributed to Hercules. The teeth of the monster, sown in the virgin soil, stand for the the teeth of the plough with which the land was broken up. The stones cast by the hero typify the hardened clods which his serfs would fain have seized and ploughed for their own behoof. The armed men who sprang from the furrows are the heroes, or nobles, who band together to defend their own against the robbers ; fighting not, as the legend vainly declares, against each other, but against their revolted serfs. The furrows are the " orders," the disciplined ranks of the nobles, the foundation on which the whole fabric of aristocratic, or feudal, authority was based. Finally, the serpent into which Cadmus was transformed is an image—the recognized image in primitive ages, as it still is in China and Japan—of that rightful authority, whose outward sign is the ownership of the soil : *Cadmus fundus factus est*, as the Latin phrase, in the most archaic form of the language, must assuredly have run. Thus " the whole legend is seen to embalm within it many ages of poetic history " : to be an imaginative summary of a contest, the most fateful of all contests, which, in truth of literal fact, lasted for generation after generation. Was there ever anything so ingenious ? Was there ever anything that suggested more formidable doubts ?

How other votaries of the Great Dragon may regard this interpretation, I tremble to think. Perhaps he and they may be left to settle the quarrel between them.

To ask from what source Vico drew in this field of his inquiry is to raise several curious questions. On the travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth, though not (I think) of the eighteenth centuries, he makes occasional drafts : yet, perhaps from his apparent ignorance of any modern language beyond his own and Spanish, not so many as was to be expected or desired ; and his reference to such sources are, it must be confessed, commonly of an obvious nature. To the popular customs of his own country he is more heavily indebted : he notes, for instance, as Boccaccio had done before him, the Neapolitan and Florentine practice of throwing incense on the fire on Christmas Eve, and connects it with the peculiar sacredness attached by the Romans to fire and water. This was to open a wholly new—as Grimm and others were to show, a marvellously rich—vein of inquiry. In the main, however, he confines himself to the mythology of Greece and Rome : setting himself to prove, and proving, how great is the light which they throw on each other ; or rather, how great is the light which Greek mythology throws upon the political history, the primitive political conditions, both of its own country and of Rome.

There is one source of material—available, indeed, not so much for Comparative Mythology as for the kindred subjects of Comparative History and Anthropology—which he pointedly neglects. This is the primitive records of the Jewish race, as embodied in the early Books of the Old Testament. Of all storehouses of primitive history and primitive custom this is the richest. Why, then, did Vico not put it to better use ? The answer is simple : piety forbade. In the name of the Church—he was of the straitest sect of the orthodox—he steadily refused to make use of his opportunities—the few illustrations I have given from this source, for the sake of clearness, have in fact been supplied mainly by myself—steadily insisted that, between Jew and Gentile, between a supernatural and a purely natural development, there cannot, from the nature of the case, be any common measure. Yet, obdurate as he was, there are moments when, in spite of Pope and Cardinal, he cannot refrain from breaking into the forbidden preserve : just enough to show what he might have done, had his lot been cast in kindlier circumstances ; but unfortunately, no more. We

must be grateful for these occasional lapses, and only regret that his vigilance did not allow them to be more frequent.

III. Vico has also been hailed as the founder of what is called the Philosophy of History. What is the meaning to be attached to this term? Is there any sense in which it can be said to represent an ideal within the reach of human limitations? It is a question which has been hotly debated; and being neither historian nor philosopher, I approach it with great uneasiness.

There are, I suppose, three senses which may conceivably be given to the term. The Philosophy of History may be regarded as a study which enables us to foresee the future: the "Science of History," as it used gaily to be called some fifty years ago. Or it may be regarded as the study which offers a reasoned explanation of the past: a theory consistent at once with itself and with the dominant facts ascertained from the authentic records of the past. That is the sense in which the term is perhaps most commonly understood: the sense which it bore to Hegel and his contemporaries and which is elaborately worked out by Hegel himself in his *Philosophy of History*. Or lastly—coming down to a much humbler, a much more modest, conception—it may be taken to mean no more than the sum of conclusions which competent inquirers have drawn from the facts of History: generalizations, more or less wide, which they have built—each of them with regard to his own special field of study—upon the records of History. It is manifest that this is a far more limited conception than the other two: so limited that the champion of those more ambitious conceptions would doubtless repudiate its claim to be called a Philosophy of History at all.

What are we to say of each of these rival conceptions? The first, the "Science of History," must, I think, be rejected without ceremony. To suppose that it is, or can ever become, possible to predict the great revolutions of human affairs is to misunderstand the whole character of History, to misinterpret the whole nature of organic growth, which is the essence of man's History. An astronomer can predict the return of a comet with absolute precision. But a biologist cannot predict the next stage in the development of animal life; nor can a historian or philosopher predict the next stage in the progress of humanity. History never repeats itself; and to suppose that it does so is the wildest of delusions.

For the second conception, that elaborated by Hegel, there is much more to be said. But it has to meet two formidable objections. Given the large element of accident, of personal caprice, which belongs to human action and human character, is it possible to reduce the whole course of human history to the rigid laws of philosophical necessity ? And given the limitations of human frailty, is it conceivable that any one man should combine in himself on the one hand that living knowledge of all the material facts and conditions, and on the other hand that speculative genius, both of which are indispensable to the Hegelian ideal ?

The third conception, that which limits itself to generalizations closely drawn from the facts, is more modest and therefore less open to objection. It is indeed the conception tacitly adopted, the method actually pursued, by every historian who aspires to be more than a mere chronicler of events. He selects his facts, he draws conclusions from his facts, he generalizes, more or less widely, from his facts. Doubtless, the standard of fidelity in these matters is much higher now than it was a hundred, or even fifty, years ago ; and that means that we now demand both greater accuracy in ascertaining the facts and greater strictness in generalizing, in drawing conclusions, from the facts than was at all common in the past. This has been one of the great achievements of historical scholarship in our own day : this, and the zeal with which historical scholars have thrown themselves into the task of exploring and sifting the vast mass of material which had too long been allowed to moulder in the Record Office and other public and private archives. The first result of this immense labour, and very properly, has been to make men more distrustful of such reconstructions as Hegel attempted now a century ago. But, as time goes on, it is possible, and even likely, that the more cautious generalizations obtained by the new methods will be found to have more points of contact than may have appeared in the first instance. It is even possible that we may at last arrive at the scattered limbs—I cannot think it will ever be more than the scattered limbs—of the vision which hovered before the mind of Vico : of " that ideal and eternal history which runs its course in time ". That is for time to show.

The memorable phrase I have just quoted is of itself enough to tell us where Vico stood in this matter. The truth is that all three conceptions of the Philosophy of History—but above all, the second, the

Hegelian, version of it—are reflected in his book. His general theory of the course of History may be described as a blend of the first two forms of the conception. It unites the conviction that the long roll of events from the beginning to "the last syllable of recorded time" forms one providential, and therefore intelligible, whole with the conviction that the past is the faithful mirror also of the future, and therefore that the future may be foreseen from the past. And if we ask how this may be, his answer is very simple. It is that, at certain intervals, the continuity of the world's progress is violently broken; that the order established at such cost is hurled back into chaos; and that the new order, as it rises slowly out of chaos, faithfully reproduces all the stages —the monastic Family, the aristocratic State which grows out of it, the Democracy of virtue, the Democracy of licence, the Monarcy of restraint, the Monarcy of luxury and, finally, the general dissolution—which had marked first the growth, then the slow decline and fall, of the old order. Such a breach of continuity took place at the fall of the Roman Empire and the coming of the barbarians. It will take place again, at intervals more or less regular, so long as man remains upon the earth. The recurrence of such periods Vico describes as the "ebb and flow," the *corso e ricorso*, of human history. And we see at a glance that it is nothing more nor less than Aristotle's theory of cataclysms furbished up again, under a thin disguise, for the occasion. The only difference is that, to Aristotle, the cataclysm is a physical disaster, the deluge of a wide-spread tradition; to Vico, on the contrary, it is a moral catastrophe, brought about by human agency, by the gradual corruption to which all things human are providentially foredoomed.

It would be idle to criticize this theory in detail: its weaknesses are too obvious. I will content myself with two general remarks. The conclusion fails, because it is built on premisses far too narrow: upon nothing, in fact, but the circumstances attending the fall of the Roman Empire; as indeed, from beginning to end of his inquiry, the whole world is forced into the mould which Roman History had put into his hands. It is not the first, nor the last, time that the dead hand of Rome has been invoked to stifle the living growth of the present. On the other hand, it would be unjust to deny that Vico's theory, feeble though it is in general outline, is full of fruitful suggestions in detail. As we have seen, he throws a flood of light upon

the early history both of Rome and Greece: his, in fact, was the first rational word spoken on the subject. And no one can read the *Scienza Nuova* without feeling that his interest in ideas had at least as much to do with this as his interest in facts. In his mind, the two things were inseparable.

IV. We come now to the last achievement of Vico: his work as herald of the great revolution which, years after his death, swept over European poetry.

Vico's theory of Poetry is coloured throughout by his general outlook upon life: if we choose to say so, by his philosophy of life. And just as his political speculations were largely determined by opposition to Locke and Spinoza, so his view of life and poetry was, in great measure, the outcome of hostility to Descartes. It has often been said—and I think, with justice—that the abstract nature of the Cartesian Philosophy was greatly responsible for the abstractions, the consequent bloodlessness and nervelessness, of European poetry in the age of Boileau and of Pope. It is precisely this characteristic of Descartes' system, and of the poetry which went hand in hand with it, that roused the wrath of Vico: this, and the craving for distinctness, for sharply defined analysis, for clear-cut precision, which was closely bound up with it.

On the side of Philosophy, Vico argues as follows. It is misleading to say that the distinctness of ideas is the surest evidence of their truth. On the contrary, it is the surest sign of their incompleteness, or even of their falseness. In the more abstract fields of knowledge—in mathematics and physics, for instance, such distinctness may be a useful test enough. But in all other fields of experience—above all, in those relating to the moral, political, imaginative and religious life of man—it is a pure delusion: "it is the vice, rather than the virtue of man's reason". It is to be attained only by forcing within finite limits what is illimitable and infinite. The ideas so arrived at may be distinct; but, for that very reason, they are radically false. "When I suffer, for instance, I cannot recognize any form in my sufferings, nor set any limit to them. My perception of them is infinite and, because infinite, is proof of the greatness of man's nature. It is a vivid perception, and bright beyond all others: so bright indeed that, like the sun, it can be observed only through darkened glasses." [1]

[1] *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* (1710): Opere di Vico, II., p. 85.

Were these words written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, or the beginning of the nineteenth? Are they from the hand of Vico? or from Carlyle, or one of the German romanticists, philosophers or otherwise, by whom Carlyle was so largely inspired? If we did not know to the contrary, we should probably say the latter. Curiously enough, there is a poem of Wordsworth's in which you will find precisely the same illustration, used to enforce precisely the same truth :—

> Action is transitory, a step, a blow,
> A motion of the muscles, this way or that:
> —'Tis done; and in the after solitude
> We wonder at ourselves, like men betrayed.
> Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark,
> And shares the nature of infinity.[1]

On the side of Poetry, the revolt of Vico has perhaps a yet deeper significance. What enraged him, as two generations later it was to enrage Alfieri, was the prosiness and the bloodlessness, the effeminacy and the nervelessness which afflicted the poetry composed under the legislation of Parnassus. What he pined for was the "immersion in the senses and passions," the flesh and blood, the vividness, the speaking imagery which springs unsought and unbidden from the inmost heart of the poet, the "ferocity" (to use Alfieri's word) which he found in Dante, in the poetic myths and legends of primitive Greece: above all, in Homer. It was Achilles hurling defiance at Apollo. It was Achilles melted to pity as he listened to Priam sueing for the body of Hector and, in the very moment of relenting, blazing out once more into ungovernable fury at the first word that displeased him. It was Ulysses biding his time under wrongs and insults and, when his hour was come, leaping upon the threshold, stripping off his rags, and aiming the bitter arrow of vengeance at the heart of the wrong-doers and the scoffers. It was Ugolino, gnawing the head of his murderer in the frozen pool. Could he but have known them, it would have been Gunnar and Hogni harping, to scorn their conqueror, in the pit of serpents. It would have been Lear maddened, heart-broken, helpless, yet "every inch a king". It would have been Othello casting himself upon the bed beside his murdered wife, that his last breath might fall upon her lips. It would have been Gastibelza crazed by

[1] *The Borderers*, Act III.

the mountain-wind, crazed yet more hopelessly by the sting of a woman's treachery. It would have been Gilliatt wrestling alone against wind and wave and the monsters of the deep. It would have been Cimourdain, livid as ashes, passing sentence upon Gauvain.

It was this passion for the great things of poetry that led Vico to the critical study of Homer : to those theories about the authorship of the Homeric poems which are often wrongly supposed to have originated with Wolf (1795). He was early led to the conclusion—a very sound one, I suppose—that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* could not possibly be by the same author : the difference between the social conditions painted in the two poems is too great, the geographical and other discrepancies are too serious, to allow of any other conclusion.[1] In his later years he was led much further : led, as I cannot but think, on to much more questionable ground.[2] He came to think, as Grimm and others have thought since, that neither poem can be assigned to any one author ; that each is the creation not of a single poet, but of the whole race. That in both poems—particularly in the *Iliad*—there are interpolations, amounting in some cases to long episodes, I suppose no one would now dream of denying. But the doctrine of spontaneous generation is surely calculated to stagger even the stoutest faith. Neither the character of Achilles, which runs like a thread of gold through the whole texture of the *Iliad*, one of the greatest imaginative achievements of all time, nor the vengeance of Ulysses which fills exactly one half of the whole *Odyssey*, can well have taken shape except in one supremely gifted mind. To suppose otherwise is to go against all probability : to go against all that we know of the working of poetic inspiration.

But after all, the importance of such critical questions may easily be overrated. The real " Homeric question " is not a question of authorship, nor of social conditions, nor of geography, but a question of poetic appreciation : the one essential thing is that we should open our minds to the supreme imaginative power of these two magical creations. And, with all his critical instincts, Vico was the last man in the world to question the truth of this assertion : the last man in the world to allow his antiquarian interests to get the better of his sense

[1] So far he went in his Latin Treatise, *Jus universum*, of 1720.

[2] See Book V. of the Second Version of *La Scienza Nuova* (1730-1744) : *Il vero Omero.*

of poetry. It is because he never sacrificed the more to the less important in these matters that I have claimed—and I am convinced, justly claimed—for him the distinction of having been the first to herald the great poetic revival of the eighteenth century : the first to demand that Poetry should be released from the gilded cage in which Pope and Boileau had imprisoned her : that she should be restored to the freedom of her native earth and heaven. In this sense, he was the herald of Goethe in Germany ; of Victor Hugo in France ; and in our own country of a whole " nest of singing birds " : of Wordsworth and Coleridge, of Keats and Shelley, of Byron and Walter Scott. Add this to his other services, and you will admit that he was the very prince of pioneers.

" He wrote in the eighteenth century," as Michelet says, " but he wrote for the nineteenth." Yes ; and we may add—for the world has not yet done with him—he wrote for the twentieth century also.

MARCION'S BOOK OF CONTRADICTIONS.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

DR. HORT, to whom I am personally more deeply in debt than to any other of the great scholars whom it has been my privilege to know, disagreed with me strongly in the estimate which we made of the value of Tertullian and his writings. He disliked Tertullian, thought him unfair in his arguments, which was one thing that Hort, with an almost morbid sense of justice, could not forgive; I, on the other hand, adored Tertullian, not so much for his power of putting a nascent theology into crystalline form, as because of his wit and his epigrammatic power; it was like the newly-invented artillery in the battle in the heavens in *Paradise Lost*,

"That whom they hit, none on their feet might stand";

and my own temptation is still, to sell my soul to the devil for a good epigram, just as Mr. Chesterton is reported to have sold his for an unlimited and unequalled power of Paradox. Dr. Hort, however, cared nothing for epigrams, even when they were used in the service of Truth; he distrusted them, and this distrust made his own work often to be lacking in colour and in contrast. I do not think, however, that he liked Marcion, who was Tertullian's butt, and was commonly, but erroneously, supposed to be almost as stupid as Tertullian was witty, and as wanting in colour as Tertullian, who was almost like Turner the artist in this respect, was surcharged with it. There again we differed, for I could not help thinking that Marcion's portrait is one of the standing injustices in ecclesiastical history, and that he was and is one of the most misunderstood of men. Perhaps he shares this misrepresentation with his contemporary Valentinus, who appears to have been a very Johannine type of Christian, if the shade of Irenæus will allow me to say so without protest. I think Dr. Hort dreaded what is now imminent in certain theological circles, a return to the Marcionite attitude

with regard to the Old Testament. Here again, I did not share his fears. The Old Testament can take care of itself: Christianity is not yet nearly detached from Judaism. On the contrary, it is always gravitating back into it again. A great war is a powerful stimulus in that direction. It is sure to make us either Jews or Moslems.

But to return to Marcion. What do we really know of himself or his works, except from the hands of his unfriendly critics? I have often searched both East and West for that lost book of *Antitheses* or *Contradictions*, in which Marcion expounded the fundamental want of accord between the Old Testament and the New. He could not have been the dull dog that he is commonly taken for, when he drew the two companion pictures, one of Elisha sending the she-bears to eat up forty-two naughty children, who had called him an old gentleman; and the other of Jesus, extending arms of welcome and saying "Suffer little children to come unto me". So I made some unsuccessful quest for the lost book, which had these two pretty pictures of infant life on opposite pages. If all the book was like that it would have been worth finding, but this is the proper point to use the language of the fox in the fable and say that "the grapes are sour". For they are still out of reach.

If, however, we cannot predict a great harvest of striking contrasts between the Old and the New, we can pick up here and there many scattered instances, and we may at least be sure that a great movement such as the Marcionite propaganda must have had behind it the driving power of great ideas, with some adequacy of expression. It won't do to repeat the Church calumnies and say that there was once, far away in uncivilized Pontus, a stupid shipmaster who was the first-born of Satan. For Marcion divided the allegiance of the Church of his day and of many days after. There was, in that age, no "quod ubique, quod ab omnibus"; his company were just as much a Catholic Church as any other, for they were commensurate in extent with, and rivalled in intensity the Christian communities of the great cities, and that is a sufficient proof that there has been a campaign of misrepresentation on the part of those who appropriated and ran off with the title of Catholicism.

Is there any way in which we may arrive at a more just idea of Marcion and his work? Let us try if we can add something to the existing knowledge of the theologian and the ecclesiastical historian.

One of the most interesting and important of the anti-Marcionite works is that which goes under the name of the *Dialogue of Adamantius*. Attention was early drawn to it on account of a fallacious identification of the Adamantius who appears in the *Dialogue* with Origen himself. The name might be his, but the arguments and involved beliefs are certainly not his, and the Origenian identification has long been abandoned. All that we know of the Adamantius referred to is that he is the orthodox protagonist in a great debate with a certain follower of Marcion named Megethius, and that he turns like Plato in the *Republic* when he has despatched Thrasymachus to dispute with a second Marcionite named Marcus, who acts the part of Glaucus in the Platonic *Dialogue*. Marcus is a somewhat harder nut to crack, but presently he also is disposed of. A third disputant appears who is said to be a follower of Bardesanes; his name is Marinus (probably a Syrian) and he raises the whole question of the origin of evil and of human free-will. When Marinus is despatched a fourth heretic enters the arena; his name is Droserius and he says that he comes forward to defend the dogma of Valentinus.

Valentinus, whom he describes as a most orthodox person, will be able to tell us convincingly whence the devil came and how evil arose. The judge who has been arbitrating in the previous cases encourages Droserius (who, by the way, is not a fictitious person) to go into the arena and have it out with Adamantius. We at once are introduced to some very important matter, professing to be Valentinus' own statements, and commonly supposed to come from a lost work of that great heresiarch. This matter is what we want to draw attention to. The rest of the *Dialogue* contains, in its fifth dispute, a confutation of the Docetists, who deny the reality of the Lord's appearance, and especially of His passion. With this part we are not concerned at present; what arrests the attention is the statement of Valentinus, which is officially read in the debate. It is *not* presented as an oral statement; the judge says definitely, "Let the dogma (*or* opinion) of Valentinus be read". Droserius then undertakes the defence of the Valentinian writing. It must be clear, to any one who is interested in ancient documents, that unless the *Dialogue* has misrepresented matters, we have here some pages of a lost book, ostensibly of Valentinus. Certainly it is no ordinary writer that has produced the

document which is supposed to be read in the debate : nor is it surprising that an attempt has been made to identify the book quoted with a lost ὅρος (or *definition*) of Valentinus. Before we come to the actual quotation, we may at once get rid of this last supposition. The supposed "definition" is only the way in which the author of the *Dialogue* introduces the matter : he had used the same trick at the beginning, when he was describing the struggle with Megethius the Marcionite ; Megethius must make a "definition". This is, however, a mere critical trifle ; for it appears that the whole of the supposed extract from the works of Valentinus has been transcribed from the treatise of Methodius on the *Freedom of the Will*, which is also a *Dialogue* between an Orthodox Believer and a Valentinian. So we can replace, as far as the supposed Valentinus doctrine goes, the authority of Adamantius, who is a post-Nicene writer, by the authority of Methodius, who is an ante-Nicene writer. The extract is acquiring a flavour of antiquity.

The next thing we notice is that the Adamantius *Dialogue* has only transcribed the latter part of the quotation in Methodius. We might have guessed something of the kind, for it opens with a reference to what went on yesterday, and does not tell us what really occurred. With the aid of Methodius we restore a whole section, evidently the beginning of a book, be it of Valentinus or whatever it may be. It does not seem to be Methodius himself ; the suggestion at once arises that he, like Adamantius, has been borrowing. He writes the opening section of his *Dialogue*, and then introduces someone who is said to be Valentine or a Valentinian, who speaks in another style, if we may judge of styles and of men by their styles.

We are not yet at the end of the preliminary questions of Authorship ; for the section which follows in Methodius on *God and Matter* is said by Eusebius to come from Maximus, and to have been written, therefore, in the last ten years of the second century. This difficulty is commonly got rid of by assuming that Eusebius, animated by spite against Methodius for his opposition to the teachings of Origen, has falsified the authorship of the extract which he quotes. For our part, we think nobly of Eusebius, and in no wise approve the suggestion of such treachery. It seems easier to suppose that the extract referred to has been circulating anonymously, or with various ascriptions of authorship. In that case, the treatise of Methodius may very well

contain earlier matter, outside what has been suspected to have a Valentinian origin.[1]

Now let us make a brief summary of the contents of this Prologue to an unknown work upon which we have stumbled. The writer begins by saying that it was but yesterday that he was walking on the sea-shore, and contemplating the Divine Power and the Divine Art in the tossing waves. It was like the scene upon which Miranda gazes in the *Tempest*, where the art of her father has put the wild waters into a rage and roar. It was such a scene, says the writer, as is described by Homer, when Boreas and Zephyrus rage together on the main. The waves mount to the welkin's cheek. It seemed as if the whole earth, including the speaker, would have been whelmed (ἐπικλυσθήσεσθαι). But when he sought for a safe-standing ground, or tried to descry Noah's Ark in the offing, he saw that the waves did not transgress their proper limits; they were servants who dreaded their master and were under orders.

From this contemplation, the writer passed in thought, after the fashion of the early Christian Apologists, to consider the orderly sequence of the sun and moon, of night and day, and hence to infer the existence of some power which overrules and maintains the order of the world. This power is God[2] and the writer went on to reflect that there cannot be a second cause, but that there was a First Cause,

[1] Gaisford, in his note on Euseb., *Praep. Ev.*, vii. 21 reminds us that Routh, who revised the passage in Eusebius and wrote a comment upon it, thought that Methodius had been borrowing from Maximus. He quoted, however, the protest of Jahn (*Meth. opp.* ii. 125) against the idea that Methodius, that subtle and ingenious imitator of Plato, had been copying from Maximus, and he referred to the fact that "Dr. Armitage Robinson (*Philocalia* xlvi.) and the late Dr. Hort independently suggested that Maximus is the name not of an author, otherwise unknown, but of the interlocutor described by Methodius as Orthodoxus". It is difficult to believe that Eusebius would have spoken of Maximus as "a man not undistinguished in the Christian life" if he had only been the lay figure of a dialogue.

Gaisford is wrong in referring the explanation given above to Dr. Hort: as we shall see presently, it was Zahn's suggestion, reported by Hort to Robinson; not quite the same thing.

[2] We may compare the argument at the beginning of the *Apology* of Aristides: "I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the influence of another, and I understood that he that moveth them is God" (*Ap.*, c. 1.)

one and only. So at the end of the day he went home in peace with the faith in supreme order and goodness established in his mind.

Next day came the backwave of Unfaith. He went out and saw something different from the stormy sea that keeps its Maker's limits. He saw stormy human beings quarrelling and threatening one another ; he saw robbers at work upon graves, exposing the buried corpses to the pariah dogs. Here a man was smiting his fellow with a sword and stripping him, and here was a man who robbed his neighbour of his wife's embraces. At last he came to conclude that all he had read in tragedy of Thyestes and Œdipus and the like might be true. How could such things be consistent with Divine Order and Divine Providence ? How could God be the Author of such things as he had seen ? Had he called such a world into being, and perhaps could not now unmake it ? Did he who made the Lamb make thee ? would be William Blake's way of putting it to the Tiger, the Lamb crossing the stage first. Or is it possible that He once joyed over these evil creations and had now ceased to delight in them ? But this can hardly be. So the writer infers the existence of Matter, out of which God made the world and made it fair ; but from it also Evil arose, as being Matter that had missed the artist's hand, rejected by Him as unsuitable, and so finding itself realized in the evil deeds of men.

Something like this is the argument of the newly found Prologue. It finds God and a world-order ; it then discovers the dissonance of the world from the Divine Order, and discovers Hylē or Matter, and so the way is opened for a reconciliation of the inner lack of harmony of the world with a Divine Idea.

I believe this passage has been styled rhetorical in some quarters, and Eusebius speaks of it and of all such speculations into the origin of evil as being the favourite occupation of heretics ;[1] we cannot think that such serious speculations are either rhetorical or that they

[1] So does Tertullian, cf. *adv. Marc.*, i. 2 : " Languens enim (quod et nunc multi, et maxime haeretici) circa mali quaestionem ' Unde malum ? ' etc." The origin of evil must have been at the beginning of the Marcionite doctrine. Tertullian says that the heretics (to wit, Marcion and his contemporaries in the first instance) have a morbid interest in it. The language of Eusebius in *H.E.*, v. 27, describes the supposed Maximus passage as, *περὶ τοῦ πολυθρύλητου παρὰ τοῖς αἱρεσιώταις ζητήματος πόθεν ἡ κακία καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενητὴν ὑπάρχειν ὕλην*, upon which Fabricius remarked that the talkative heretics referred to are either the Marcionites or the Valentinians.

are necessarily heretical. If, however, they should chance to be heretical, to what heretic shall we refer them? Methodius says it is Valentinus: and Adamantius who follows him says expressly of the latter part of the Prologue that it is the *Doctrine of Valentinus.* But this is not any fresh evidence. Eznik the Armenian also transcribes Methodius. Eusebius, on the other hand, seems to refer it to Maximus, who sets up the figure of heretical speculation in order that he may have the pleasure of knocking it down again.

We are going to suggest that the author is Marcion. There is no preliminary difficulty in substituting Marcion for Valentinus, for they are known to be closely related, and their theological systems have a common root. Let us see if anything can be said in support of the suggestion.

The passage to which the author refers from Homer's description of the storm-driven sea is at the beginning of the ninth book of the *Iliad.* It runs as follows in Derby's translation :—

> As when two stormy winds ruffle the sea,
> Boreas and Zephyr, from the hills of Thrace
> With sudden gust descending; the dark waves
> Rear high their angry crests, and toss on shore
> Masses of tangled weed: (such stormy grief
> The breast of ev'ry Grecian warrior rent).

The sea upon which the winds play is called by Homer the Pontus; and no doubt he means the Thracian Pontus, from which Boreas and Zephyrus come in the twenty-third book to fan the flames of the funeral pile of Patroclus (*Il.*, 23, 230). It was, however, a word susceptible of misunderstanding; its most natural meaning is the Euxine, and we suspect that no less a person than Tertullian has thought of it as being the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, about which he has so many epigrammatic touches in his books against Marcion. For, in his first book, after impaling Marcion on the horns of a dilemma, he says, "Marcion, *you are caught in the surge of your own Pontus.* The waves of truth overwhelm (*involvunt*) you on every side. You can neither set up equal gods nor unequal gods."

The sting of the retort is evident, if Marcion had, to Tertullian's mind, represented himself as walking by the storm-tossed Euxine and imagining that he would be engulfed in the waves. "The very thing,"

says Tertullian ; "you are so, and the waves are the waves of truth breaking over you" (Tert. *adv. Marc.*, i. 7).

When Tertullian comes to discuss the *Antitheses* or supposed *Contradictions* between the Old Testament and the New, he suggests that if we are going to search for contradictions, we shall not be limited to the two Testaments. Nature is full of contradictions, man is a bundle of them. Must we try to assign the inharmonious parts to separate Authors and Origins ? Tell me, Marcion, "Why have you not reckoned up also the *Antitheses* which occur in the natural works of the Creator, who is forever contrary to Himself ? Why were you not able to reflect (*recogitare*) that the world, at all events, *even amongst your people of Pontus*, is made up (unless I am mistaken), out of a diversity of elements which are mutually hostile ?" (*adv. Marc.*, iv. 1).

The suggestion of the Pontic discords, about which he professes to have some knowledge, is at once explained by the Prologue which we have been studying, if that Prologue be really Marcion's. For it is clear that the people on the shores of the Pontus have a very black picture drawn of them, whatever Pontus may be meant by the writer. We think it is natural to explain the Prologue by Tertullian, and Tertullian by the Prologue. In that case, the Prologue is Marcion's.

A difficulty now arises as to whether the views of the supposed Prologue are really Marcion's views. Is it true that Hylē or Matter is one of his fundamental conceptions ? and if it is with Hylē that the Creator operates, where is the good God of Marcion, who is really supreme over both Matter and the Creator that operates upon it ?

Tertullian makes great play with the Marcionite conception of the ingenerate Matter which is co-eval with God, to the credit of which evil is to be reckoned : (*contra Marc.*, i. 17), and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, iii. § 3) explains that those who belong to the School of Marcion regard Nature as evil, having been produced from evil Matter by a just Demiurge.

If we turn to the account of the doctrine of Marcion given by Eznik the Armenian, we shall find great prominence given to Hylē in the Marcionite cosmogony. For instance, "Marcion wrongly introduces a strange element in opposition to the God of the Law, positing with him also Hylē, by way of essence, and three heavens. In the one (they say) dwells the Stranger, and in the second the God of the

Law, and in the third His armies; and in the earth Hylē, and they call her the Power of the Earth."

Eznik has much more to say about this Hylē; but we are advised by the students of Church History that Eznik needs to be used cautiously, as representing a later stage of Marcionite teaching. Harnack, for example, in his *History of Dogma* (Eng. Trans., i. 167 note) says, "the later Marcionite speculations about matter (see the account of Eznik) should not be charged upon the Master himself, as is manifest from the second book of Tertullian against Marcion".

This may readily be conceded, but the later speculations about Matter spring from an initial doctrine as to the existence of Matter and its co-existence with God, which is all that is required in our argument.

As to the great Marcionite doctrine of the good God of the New Testament, who is other than the just God of the Old Testament, we have not in our extracts reached the point where he comes upon the scene, so that his non-appearance does not affect the argument nor prevent us from believing that our Prologue really comes from Marcion himself.

Tertullian certainly found the doctrine of the co-existence of Matter with God in his copy of Marcion, for he makes sport of it, and suggests that if it be true, we shall have to erect space into a third co-existent entity, containing the other two. "Si et ille mundum ex aliqua materia subjacente molitus est, innata et infecta et contemporali Deo, *quemadmodum de Creatore Marcion sentit*, redigis et hoc ad majestatem loci, qui et deum et materiam, duos deos, clusit" (c. *Marc.* i. 17). It will be observed that Tertullian is quoting Marcion's own statements, probably in the Latin translation, and the terms used are those which are employed by the supposed heretic in Methodius and Adamantius, as that something co-exists (συνυπάρχειν) with God, which we may call Matter, and that this matter is unwrought and unformed, ἀποίου καὶ ἀσχηματίστου, (cf. the "innata and infecta" of Tertullian) and note that the orthodox opponent in Methodius sums up the heretic's doctrine in the words that "God created these things from a certain underlying substance,"[1] viz. matter, which is

[1] ὑποκειμένης τινὸς οὐσίας, clearly both Tertullian and Methodius are discussing the statements of Marcion.

almost exactly what Tertullian says above "ex aliqua materia subjacente".[1]

The terms employed are Platonic, and in that sense it might be urged that they were more proper for Methodius to use, than for Marcion. It will be easy to decide the writer to whom (after Plato) the language is to be referred, if we take another witness to Marcion's teaching who is earlier than Methodius. In the summary of heretical teaching whch Hippolytus makes at the end of his *Philosophumena* he tells us that "Marcion of Pontus and his teacher Cerdo also define the existence of three principles, the Good, the Just, and Matter; some of their disciples add a fourth, the Wicked. All of them say that the Good One made nothing at all, but that the Just One (whom some call the Wicked One, but others simply Just) made everything out of the underlying matter (ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὕλης): and he made it, not well, but irrationally. Needs must the things made resemble their maker; for this reason they employ the evangelical parable that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit (Matt. vii. 18). This summary shows us again the ὕλη ὑποκειμένη, and it also tells us the next thing that was to be argued from the fact of an imperfect creation. It is well known that Marcion found a point of departure in the good and evil trees of the Gospel. Hippolytus shows us how to connect this with the preliminary metaphysical speculation. In the Dialogue of Adamantius, Megethius says (i. 28): "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, etc. You see you have here the two masters and the two natures." One sees the steps which Marcion is going to take, from the two trees to the two gods.

As to the Platonism of the opening passage on God and Matter, it is clear that Marcion must be counted a Platonist as well as Methodius. For we traced to Marcion through Tertullian the statement that Matter was ἄποιος and ἀσχημάτιστος and co-eval with God. But this is Plato's doctrine; when Hippolytus sums up Plato's doctrine, he tells us that Plato assumes as principles, God, Matter, and Pattern (παράδειγμα). Matter was subjacent (ὑποκειμένη). Matter was also unformed (ἀσχημάτιστος) and unmade (ἄποιος). Thus Matter is a first principle and synchronous with God, σύγχρονον τῷ Θεῷ. The language of our Prologue is Platonic language.

[1] Cf. *adv. Marcionem*, v 19: "Collocans et cum Deo Creatore materiam, de porticu Stoicorum".

Platonic scholars can fill in the references to the proper dialogues; what we are concerned with is the popular summaries of Greek philosophy, such as we find in early Christian writers. It is clear that Marcion is a Platonist; we do not think any the worse of him on that account, but we are surprised at the discovery.

We have already pointed out that Marcion is ridiculed by Tertullian for his morbid interest in the question of the origin of evil, and as the reference on the part of Tertullian to this favourite inquiry of the heretics occurs at the opening of his book (*adv. Marc.*, i. 2), we may infer the probability that it also stood at the beginning of Marcion's book. This is exactly what we suspected of the author of the passages transcribed by Methodius: in these passages Methodius is Marcion.

In order to examine the question more closely, we will now make a free translation of the chapters which we have been speculating over, and see if any further clue can be obtained to their origin.

Before doing this, however, we are called to a halt by the appearance of Harnack's great work on Marcion, in which he collects all that has ever been preserved and all that has ever been said on the person or the teaching of the great heretic: (if we must call him a heretic who was really only a great spiritual leader). Harnack does not suspect that any extended passages of the *Antitheses* have been preserved, though there is an abundance of selected contradictions between the Old and New Testaments that can be recovered; but he thinks he has found in an Armenian text, said to be translated from Ephraim Syrus, the opening sentences of the *Antitheses*. The homily in question was first translated by Schäfers in 1917, and contains an outburst of wonder at the way in which the Gospel is neglected: it runs as follows:—

"O what wonder upon wonder, what amazement, and overpowering astonishment it is, that people have not a jot to say about the Gospel, that they do not think thereon, nor that aught can be compared therewith!"[1]

This is somewhat obscure; but it surely does not refer to the *Antitheses*.[2] The writer says that it comes from a Pro-Evangelium

[1] Schäfers' translation is as follows:—

"O Wunder über Wunder, Verzückung, Macht und Staunen ist, dass man gar nichts über das Evangelium sagen, noch über dasselbe denken, noch es mit irgend etwas vergleichen kann."

[2] Does it not really mean, "that one can say nothing beyond the

of Marcion; i.e. as we should say, the Preface to the Reader at the beginning of Marcion's *Gospel of Luke*. Harnack, however, beset by the idea that Marcion never wrote more than one book, fails to see that as he is known to have published a Gospel, he was therefore at liberty to write a preface to it. We conclude that what has been recovered is the opening of the Marcionite *Evangelium*. We are free to look further for the opening of the *Antitheses*.

Introductory Chapters of Marcion's "Antitheses".

[Yester-e'en, dear friend], as I was walking on the shore of the sea and gazing upon it with some closeness of attention, I observed an excess of Divine Power and the art of a wise intelligence, if indeed we ought to use the word "Art". [My experience yesterday was in this wise.] It was something like the lines of Homer:—

> As when two stormy winds ruffle the sea,
> Boreas and Zephyr, from the hills of Thrace,
> With sudden gust descending; the dark waves
> Rear high their angry crests, and toss on shore
> Masses of tangled weed:

for I saw the waves running mountains high and almost touching the welkin, nor did I expect in consequence any other result than the submergence of all the land, and I was devising for myself mentally a place of refuge, and the very ark of Noah. But my expectation did not happen, for where the sea broke it relapsed again into itself, not passing beyond its proper location, but acting, if one may say so, as if in fear of a Divine injunction. Just as oft-times some servant constrained against his will to carry out a command of his master, obeys his injunction through fear, but does not venture to say what he suffers through his unwillingness to obey, but is inwardly malcontent and filled with spleen, so it seemed to me that the sea, empassioned as it were and yet restraining its wrath within itself and controlling itself, was unwilling to disclose its ire to its lord and master. While I was observing what took place I began to scrutinize, and would have measured mentally the heaven and its orb, and wished to know its commencement and its cessation, and what motion it has, whether one

Gospel, that they cannot think higher than the Gospel, that they can compare nothing with the Gospel"?

of transference from place to place or a circular motion, and how it comes also to have a permanent foundation. Yea! it seemed proper for me also to investigate the sun's path, the turning point of its position in the sky, and what the period of its race, and whither it presently goes, and how not even so does it transgress its proper path, but it also, as we must say, keeps a command given by one superior to itself, and appears to our sight when it is allowed to do so, and moves off when it is called away. As I made my investigation into these things, I observed the solar splendour to fade and the light of day to fail, and darkness to rush on, and the moon to follow after the sun, coming up lesser at the first, but as she holds on her way presenting the appearance of a greater light. Nor did I quit inquiring into her, and investigating the cause of the waxing and waning, and how she too observes the appointed circuit of her days. And from thence I inferred the existence of a Divine Providence and a Power Supreme, which comprises all things, and which also we may rightly call God. So at last I set on praising the Creator, as I viewed His firm fixed earth with the diversities of living creatures and the varied blooms of plants.

Nor did my mind call a halt over these things only, but I went further and began to ask whence they had their composition, whether from somewhat that ever co-existed with God, or whether of Him and from Him and Him alone, with whom nought else co-existed. For the existence of things from nothing seemed to me quite a wrong point of view, such an argument being to most people altogether unconvincing. For things that become are wont to have their constitution from things that are. So also it seemed to me that it was truth to say that nought is forever with God but God Himself, but that from Him all things that are have come into being. To this point, then, of conviction I was brought by the orderliness of the elements, and the fair array of nature in regard to them.

So I went home, under the supposition that somehow all was well explained, and the following day [i.e. to-day] I came and saw two men (human beings of the same race), battering and insulting one another, and further, the second of them was trying to tear off his neighbour's garment. Some, too, were aiming at more shocking ventures. One of them was stripping a dead body and the corpse which had already been laid in the ground he now displayed again before

the sun, and he did despite to a form like his own, leaving the dead for a prey to the dogs. Here a man had drawn his sword and was going after a man like himself; he, on his part, sought safety in flight, but the other ceased not to pursue him, nor would he control his rage. And what shall I say further? Except that when he got at him he promptly struck him with his sword; the other became a suppliant to his neighbour and stretched out appealing hands, and would have given him his very raiment, asking only for his life. But his persecutor did not repress his passion, nor pity him as one of his own race, nor would he see himself in the image of the other, but like a wild beast began to ravine with his sword; and now, beast-like, he had his teeth in the corse of the other (for his rage was like that) and you might have seen how the one now lay prostrate, and how the other ended by stripping him, nor would he cover with earth the body which he had made bare of raiment. Following on these there was another who would make sport with his neighbour's wife, robbing a fellow-man of his marriage rights, and in hot haste to turn to an impious union, not wishing that the wedded husband should be father of his own children. After that I began to believe even the Greek tragedies; the banquet of Thyestes appeared to have been a real occurrence; I could believe in the lawless incest of Œdipus; nor did I discredit the sword-strife of the two brethren. Having been spectator of such dreadful things I began to inquire into their origin, what it was that set them in motion, who it was that engineered such things against men, whence came the invention of them, who was their teacher. For I dared not say that God was their Maker, nor certainly that they had their constitution from Him, nor even their subsistence. For how could we imagine such things of God? He the good one and the Maker of things more excellent, to whom nothing base attaches itself; He who has no natural joy in such things, but forbids even the inception of them, and rejects those who take pleasure therein, and draws near to those who flee therefrom! And how unreasonable to call God the Creator of such a state of things, when we know that he execrates them! For He could not have wished them to cease to be, if he had been their initial artist. For those that come to Him He wills to be His imitators; and that is why it seemed to be irrational to attach such things to Him, or to regard them as due to Him, or even with the outside concession as to the possibility of things arising out of

nothing, could one say that it was He who was the Author of evil. For if He had brought evil out of non-being into being, He would not again have withdrawn it from existence; or if so, we should have to say that once upon a time God delighted in evils, but now He does so no more, which is an impossible statement to make about God: one could not make such a discord to fit His nature. For this reason it seemed to me that somewhat must co-exist with Him (let us call it Matter), from which as Artificer He wrought existing things, with the discrimination of wise Art and the beauty of fair Adornment; and from this Matter even things evil seemed to come. For since Matter was in itself unfashioned and unformed, and besides that was also under disorderly impulses, and so in need of Divine Art, the Creator with no ill-will and with no desire to abandon Matter to irregular impulse, began to create therefrom, as wishing to turn the worst into the very best. This was, then, His Creative Art; but such parts of the compound as were, so to speak, the mere lees of Matter, and altogether unsuitable for Creative Art, He left as they were: they were no concern of His. It is from such a quarter that I suppose the irruption of evils among men to have come.

It is clear that the foregoing chapters are, like Methodius' work generally, cast into the form of a Platonic *Dialogue*, but it may be suspected that they did not originally come from such a *Dialogue*, but from something more nearly approaching to a history.

The second section explains that the events recorded took place on *the next day*[1] which is explained as being *to-day*, so as to bring the argument down into the present, and put it in line with the *yester-e'en* with which the first chapter opens. The addition, no doubt, makes the *Dialogue* more vivid; but it is superfluous, and when it is removed, for which reason we have bracketed it, we may

[1] Dr. Armitage Robinson has misrepresented the situation in his *Philocalia*, p. xlii. He says, "A speaker . . . describes how on the previous afternoon he had observed the beauties of nature in sea and sun and moon, and had been led to praise their Maker. *On his way home* he had been startled by witnessing the most fearful crimes; robbery, bloodshed, adultery: and had been led to ask whether God could possibly be the Maker of these as well." The *Dialogue* does not say anything like this. The sea was not beautiful to the writer, the events related did not occur on the same day.

remove at the same time the χθὲς δειλινόν at the beginning of the first section, and the ὦ φίλε which recurs again at the end of the supposed Valentinian speeches and is clearly Methodius' own language in imitation of Plato, introduced for the sake of making the story into conversation. The manner of Methodius, is, as we say, borrowed from Plato : we may compare the opening of the *Republic :* " *Yesterday* I went down to the Piræus with Glaucon " ; and the opening of the *Charmides :* " *Yesterday evening* I returned from the Army at Potidæa," or we may compare the opening of the *Symposium :* " *The day before yesterday* I was coming from my own home ".

There is, however, no need to emphasize the Platonism of Methodius ; the question is whether his sources were also Platonic in form ; for it seems probable that we are dealing with borrowed matter, even if it is superficially Platonized. The opening chapter of Methodius on *Free-Will* is in quite a different style from the sections which follow, and which we have been discussing. These sections appear to be labelled as Valentinian, and when Adamantius copies the second section from Methodius, he introduces it as the written dogma of Valentine, which suggests that he found it so described in his copy of Methodius.

At this point, then, we are up against an ancient controversy (caused by Eusebius' reference of part of the Methodius *Dialogue* to Maximus), which was re-opened by Dr. Armitage Robinson in his *Philocalia*, pp. 41 ff., under the heading " Maximus or Methodius ? "

His conclusions are that Methodius and Methodius only is the author of the *Dialogue on Free-Will*, for the following reasons :—

(1) An author of such power as Methodius would not have cared to borrow from an earlier writer without acknowledgment.

The answer to this lies in the very first statement made by the Orthodox opponent (who is certainly Methodius himself), that there have been many capable persons before yourself and myself who have made the closest inquiry into this problem (the origin of evil) ; and have treated the matter just as you have done ;

> καὶ γὰρ πρό σοῦ τε καὶ ἐμοῦ πολλοί τινες ἄνδρες
> ἱκανοὶ περὶ τούτου τὴν μεγίστην ζήτησιν ἐποιήσαντο·
> καὶ οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως διετέθησάν σοι κτέ.

We have, then, Methodius' own admission that the treatment in

the opening sections was not original. He borrowed with an indirect acknowledgment.

(2) The Platonic character of the passage which Eusebius refers to Maximus is in keeping with all the known writings of Methodius.

This would certainly be true if Methodius had borrowed a passage and superficially Platonized it. But we shall have to reckon with the possibility that Methodius annexed a writer who, like himself, had Platonic affinities.

(3) The strongest argument of all for the authorship of Methodius is said to be the general harmony of the Eusebian extract with the rest of the book, which is thus seen to be the work of a single author.

This is really the main argument on which Robinson relies, and we must pay close attention to it. If it can be maintained, there will be no place for a Maximus extract or for a Marcionite base. The problem will be changed into an inquiry as to how Eusebius came to make such a mistake as to write Maximus for Methodius, and not to know either the exact author or the approximate date of the work he was quoting. When we come to examine Dr. Robinson's method of proof for the single authorship of Methodius without quotations, extracts, or interpolations, we are surprised to find that his procedure is fallacious, and that his most striking cases of similarity of language are a misunderstanding of the thing to be proved. We proceed to give some examples.

The good-tempered heretic (Valentinian or whatever he was) who was distressed by the domestic discords of the people among whom he dwelt, expressed a longing (πόθος) to investigate (ἀναζητεῖν) what is the origin of evil ; and his orthodox emendator observes that "since you have a longing (πόθος) to enquire into (ζητεῖν) the origin of evil, etc". Obviously the one sentence is the reproduction of the other, and if Methodius wrote the first, then he also wrote the second ; but he may have written the second, having previously incorporated the first. The coincidence of language proves nothing : it is *ignoratio elenchi* if not *petitio principii*, to say that he who wrote the second wrote also the first.

The heretic explains that he resolved the perplexity of the situation

in which he was intellectually involved by concluding that "there must be somewhat co-existent (*συνυπάρχειν*) with God (let us call it Matter)," and his friendly opponent remarks that "he does not think he is ignorant of the fact that two ingenerates cannot exist together (*ὑπάρχειν ἅμα*) however much he may seem to have prejudged the case and set it down so in the argument".

Here again the reply of the orthodox is conditioned by the statement of the heretic, but the coincidence does not prove that the orthodox and the heretic are, from a literary point of view, the same person. When the heretic says that the Matter whose existence he has been led to assume is "unwrought (*ἀποίου*) and unformed (*ἀσχηματίστου*) and the subject of irregular impulses" (*ἀτάκτως φερομένης*) the orthodox observes that "you said, did you not, that Matter was unwrought and unformed"? The heretic admits the charge. The Creator Himself, says the orthodox, from his close association with Matter will turn out to be the subject of irregular impulses (*ὁμοίως αὐτὸν τῇ ὕλῃ ἀτάκτως φέρεσθαι*).

Dr. Robinson sets this down as a proof of unity of authorship! What does all this prove as to authorship? If A quotes B, does it prove that he is the author of B?

The heretic who found his faith in the settled order of a Divinely governed world, by observing the fixity of the earth and the obedient motions of the heavenly bodies, says, "I *saw* that the earth was *firmly set* (*πεπηγυῖαν*)". "If you talk of the heavens," says the other, "and the sun, and if you *see* that the earth likewise is *firmly set*," etc.

Obviously the language of the heretic is again on the lips of the orthodox, but this does not prove the language of the heretic to be the creation of the orthodox.

"I wanted to find out," says the heretic, "what was the invention of these evils, and who was their teacher: (*τίς ὁ τούτων διδάσκαλος*)"; and the orthodox replies that "the teacher of evil (*ὁ διδάσκων τὸ κακόν*) is the Dragon". How does this prove that Methodius is both the heretic and the orthodox? We may still regard it as an open question whether there is any interpolated matter in the treatise on *Free-Will*.

We may also leave it as an unsolved problem whether Maximus is Methodius. Zahn, who wrote on the subject in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (ix. 228 ff.) suggested (i) that ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ had been misread in uncial script as ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ which seems to me to be

bad paleography ; or (ii) that Maximus was the name of the orthodox opponent in the *Dialogue*, and that the real title of the work was "Maximus, or on Freewill," just as a Platonic *Dialogue* might be named Gorgias or Philebus from its principal interlocutor. Dr. Robinson makes the same suggestion on his own account, without knowing what Zahn had written. It is not easy to believe that Eusebius, who was well acquainted with Methodius and his writings, would have made such a mistake as to replace Methodius, who was a contemporary of his own, by one of his *dramatis personæ*, or to express his admiration of the Christian character of a merely artistic creation.

The real question for us is whether this Methodius-Adamantius matter is of the same kind as would make a proper Prologue to the fundamental opposition between the Old and the New Testament. It might be urged that the Demiurge, as distinct from the Unknown God does not appear in our extract, and that the problem of the Origin of Evil has not been commonly recognized as occurring and occupying a large place in the Marcionite thought. We have, however, sufficient patristic Testimony that the heretics, especially the Marcionites and the Valentinians, were closely occupied with this problem. If, then, any such discussion goes back to Marcion, it must be in the *Antitheses* that it finds a place ; it cannot be found in the Prologue to the Marcionite Gospel : nor can it have occurred in the main body of the *Contradictions*, for we know that this main body is occupied with Biblical internal dissonances. If, then, Marcion discussed the problem of the Origin of Evil, the Prologue to the *Antitheses* is the place to look for it.[1]

But suppose someone says that the Supreme Being in the Methodius passage is not wholly detached from the work of Creation, as the Marcionite theology is held to require, for He uses the Hylē where he can, drawing off the eligible vintage, and leaving the lees, will it not follow presently, as the argument develops, that these Unfathered and Unfactored parts of Hylē will acquire an artificer of their own, if not exactly an artist, and so the way will be open for

[1] See the quotations from Tertullian and Eusebius on p. 294. Remark especially that they are at the very beginning of Tertullian's *Treatise against Marcion.*

the affirmation of the Unknown Good God, the Knowable Just God, and the unformed matter out of which the Universe arises?

We do not think that further confirmation of our theory regarding the Marcionite Prologue is necessary. We do not, however, know finally how much Methodius has added to what he borrowed, nor how much he may have dropped. We can detect a few Platonic touches by which a narration is turned into a *Dialogue*.

As to the passages which we have been working on, they have a beauty and a style of their own. They would be likely to be detached by literary and theological collectors; and whatever be their origin, some such detachment would explain how it comes about that they turn up under diverse names, and are incorporated in various works on religion and philosophy.

It may, perhaps, be said that our argument requires that the Homeric quotation with regard to the "ruffled Pontus" should be referred to Marcion himself, whereas it is far more likely to be the work of the erudite Hellenic scholar Methodius, than of the Pontic shipmaster. The answer to this objection may be found in the consideration that Homer was as much read in the countries that border on the Black Sea as the Bible is in Scotland or in Wales. Here are some references from my *Homeric Centones*. "Who would have expected that a Jewish proselyte would, in translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, have gone out of his way to employ Homeric diction? Yet it is demonstrable that Aquila of Pontus did this; nor is it easy to avoid the double conclusion (i) that Homer was a part of the common-school education in Pontus; (ii) that the Rabbinical protests against Greek learning were, at least in the second century, mere *fulmina bruta*."[1] "Dion Cassius tells us of the passion of the Borysthenitae for Homer."[2]

So it seems that Homer was just as much in demand at Sinope as at Patara.

Even if the quotation should be claimed for Methodius, it will still be possible to remove it as an interpolation, and the storm will remain, to which Tertullian alludes, when its literary illustration has been withdrawn. We prefer to believe that the whole narration, including the learned comment, is Marcion's.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 3, 4. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 6 n.

It may, perhaps, be suggested that the Creator in the passages which we have been discussing, is definitely a good and artistic being, and that we ought not therefore to imagine that he would be displaced by another good God, and only allowed the title of the Just One. It may be as well to guard ourselves against too rigid a use of the terms Good and Just, as though they were exclusive or contradictory. Harnack points out that Marcion's Creator is really a good being, but his goodness is of an inadequate character : both the Creator and his Law are good, in a relative sense, but it is a lower rank of goodness than that which is the mark of the Supreme Being. Any objection on this score may therefore be eliminated.

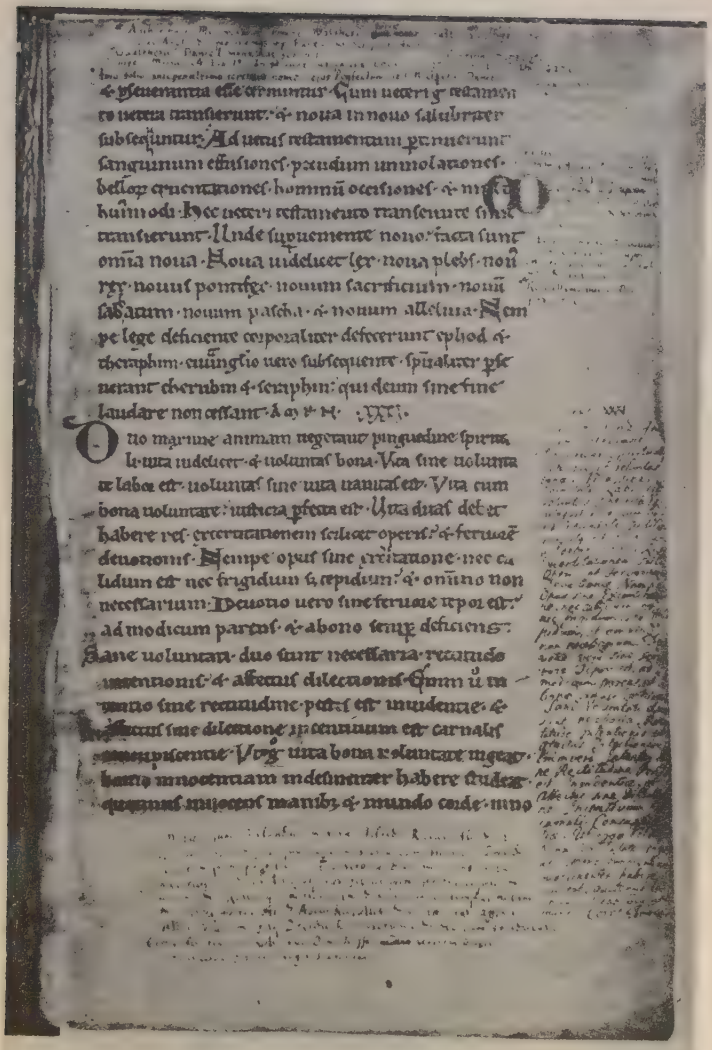
AILRED OF RIEVAULX AND HIS BIOGRAPHER WALTER DANIEL.

By F. M. POWICKE, M.A., Litt.D.

PROFESSOR OF MEDIÆVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

AMONG the manuscripts recently acquired by the John Rylands Library is a volume which was written at the end of the twelfth century in the Cistercian Monastery of Rievaulx, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The first few pages are missing, though the manuscript is still protected by its mediæval covers of board joined by thongs of leather. When he came to catalogue it M. Robert Fawtier found that it was the *Centum Sententiae* of Walter Daniel, monk of Rievaulx, a prolific writer whose works, known to Leland and Bale, have almost entirely disappeared. After the dissolution of the monasteries, when monastic libraries were scattered, the manuscript came into the hands of the Thorntons of East Newton, a manor not far from Rievaulx. In the reign of Charles II. it passed, with East Newton, to the family of Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham. Nearly a century later it was presented by another Thomas Comber to Thomas Duncombe, on whose estate at Helmsley the ruins of Rievaulx lay.[1] During 600 years this book, written at Rievaulx by a monk of Rievaulx for the edification of his brethren, never wandered more than a few miles from home. Other Rievaulx books went further afield. The Rievaulx copy of the Sentences of Peter the Lombard, came to University College, Oxford.[2] A twelfth century manuscript of the Apocalypse, glossed, is in Lincoln College, Oxford ;[3] Rabanus Maurus on St. Matthew, also in a twelfth century copy, is

[1] Rylands Latin MS., 196.
[2] University College MS., 113.
[3] Lincoln College MS., 15.



RYLANDS LATIN MS. NO. 196, FOL. 1a.

in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,[1] and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, possesses an interesting fifteenth century manuscript, originally given to Rievaulx by Abbot William Spenser.[2]

The *Sentences* of Walter Daniel was only one of many Rievaulx manuscripts which must have lain neglected, until destruction came, in the manor houses and farms of the neighbourhood. We have to thank the Rev. Thomas Man, M.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the preservation of at least one more. Dr. Man, who was a younger contemporary of Dean Comber, was Vicar of Northallerton. He was a collector of books, and in this land of ancient abbeys he found many manuscripts which had escaped the vigilance of previous antiquaries. His collection, which is now in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, contains books from Durham, Hexham, Rievaulx, Kirkstall and other places, but especially from Durham.[3] Two of them, one from Rievaulx, the other from Durham, are of peculiar interest to students of the great monastic movement which began at Rievaulx in 1132, and spread throughout Yorkshire into Lincolnshire and Northumberland, into Galloway and the Lowlands and as far south as Bedfordshire. The Rievaulx book is a miscellaneous collection, preceded by a catalogue in a thirteenth century hand of the Rievaulx library.[4] The Durham book contains, among other items, a copy of Walter Daniel's most important work, the life of his master Abbot Ailred.[5]

I am indebted to the Master and Fellows of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the loan of this last manuscript, which they have allowed me to examine in the John Rylands Library. M. Fawtier, who first introduced me to Walter Daniel, has kindly placed at my service his

[1] James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, i. 172, No. 86.

[2] C.C.C. Oxford MS., 155.

[3] James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge*, 1895.

[4] Jesus College MS., Q.B. 17; James, No. 34. The catalogue is written on the six leaves of the first gathering. It has been printed three times, first by Halliwell-Phillipps in his edition of Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. II. (1843), pp. 180-189, then by Edward Edwards in his *Memoirs of Libraries* (1859), I., 333-341, and most recently and correctly, by James, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-52.

[5] Jesus College MS., Q.B. 7; James, No. 24: ff. 61-75. I shall refer to this as the Vita Ailredi.

careful notes upon the *Centum Sententiae*, now in the Rylands Library. In the following paper I propose to describe these two extant writings of this twelfth century monk of Rievaulx and, so far as I can, the circumstances under which they were written.

I.

Walter Daniel.

"For seventeen years I lived under his rule," writes Walter of Ailred, "and during the whole of that time he expelled no one from the monastery."[1] Ailred died in January, 1167. Walter, therefore, entered Rievaulx about 1150, during the Abbot's third year of office. Daniel, his father, was at that time a monk of Rievaulx, and had played his part in the administrative business of the house.[2] From Daniel his son heard stories of the years before he had known the abbey, the story in particular of a young monk who had caused Ailred much trouble. Like Walter himself this young man was a clerk who had left the life of study for the life of the cloister. He found the change very hard to bear. Ailred, then master of the novices, nearly lost him, so great was his longing to return to the world. Later, when Ailred went out to form the daughter house of Revesby in Lincolnshire, founded by William de Roumare Earl of Lincoln in 1142, he took this unstable monk with him. The trouble returned, and to the abbot's intense grief, the monk again tried to leave his vocation. He returned with Ailred to Rievaulx. On one occasion he was sent with Daniel and others on a mission to Swineshead, and, on the day before the little company returned, Ailred, who must have had him constantly in his thoughts, dreamed that he would shortly die. Soon after, as the monk lay dying in the abbot's arms, Ailred told Daniel and two others of his dream.[3]

[1] Vita Ailredi, f. 70 b. In these references the letters a, b, c, d refer to the four columns, two on the recto, two on the dorso, of each page.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 61 b, f. 69 b. Daniel was alive in 1151, for he was present at a gathering of abbots and monks in which Ailred gave judgment in the dispute between the Abbeys of Savigny and Furness about the control of Byland Abbey. See the Byland narrative in the *Monasticon*, v., 353, and for other references to the settlement, *English Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1921, XXXVI., 23.

[3] This story is not told continuously by Walter, but his references show that the various incidents belong to the life of the same monk: Vita Ailredi, ff. 67 c, d., 68 c, d., 69 a, b.

Daniel is one of the two or three monks to whom Walter gives the title dominus, or more correctly domnus.[1] In the monastic literature of this period the title was not given to monks, even if they were in priest's orders, as a matter of course. Walter's practice, though not quite consistent, is clearly not arbitrary. When he speaks of Lord Daniel, Lord Gualo, Lord Gospatric, he means to imply that they were more than monks and priests. An abbot or prior was dominus, and it is possible that Daniel, Gospatric, and the rest became Cistercian prelates ; but there is no evidence of their promotion. We are forced to conclude either that Daniel was a personage of importance in the domestic life of Rievaulx, or that Walter, when he gave him the title, was recalling his secular status. Rievaulx, like Clairvaux, had attracted men of high and low degree, and contained many monks of knightly and noble origin. Ailred himself, his friend Simon, whose death he laments so bitterly in the *Speculum Caritatis*,[2] Waldef, the son of Earl Simon of Northampton and step-son of King David of Scotland, were fellow-monks of Daniel. The time had not yet come when men of high origin put on airs, and fatigued their brethren with talk of their exalted relatives ; the novice who entered Rievaulx was impressed by the total disregard of social distinctions which prevailed ;[3] but, after all, signs and recollections of good breeding could not be entirely lost. I am inclined to think that Daniel was of knightly origin—"ex militari germine," as Joscelin of Furness describes it—and that Walter lets the truth slip out when he styles his father "dominus Daniel".

In the north-eastern parts of England small estates were numerous. The Anglo-Scandinavian thanes had lingered longer, had given way to barons and knights more quietly and gradually than elsewhere.[4]

[1] For the distinction drawn between dominus and domnus, see Du Cange, *Glossarium*. Cf. Nicholas of Clairvaux, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXIV., col. 829 : dominus nomen est maiestatis, pietatis magister.

[2] *Patrologia Latina*, CXCV., col. 539-546.

[3] "et quod me miro modo delectat nulla est personarum acceptio, nulla natalium consideratio"—*Speculum Cartatis*, lib. ii. c. 17 in P.L. CXCV., 563. For the monks who are always talking about their distinguished relatives, Jocelin, *Vita Sancti Waldeni*, written *c.* 1210, in *Acta Sanctorum*, August., I., col. 259 d.

[4] See Farrer in *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, II., 144-146 ; Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (1920).

The dominus of Cleveland or Teesdale was not of necessity a distinguished person of foreign extraction, for the social steps between the potentate and the freeholder were numerous, and it would not be easy to draw hard and fast lines in the use of titles of courtesy. After some investigation I venture to suggest that Walter Daniel, Walter the son of Daniel, came from the Balliol fief in Cleveland, that his father was the Daniel son of Walter who was in the company, and attests at least one charter of the great Bernard of Balliol, Lord of Bailleul-en-Vimeu in Picardy, of Bywell in Northumberland, of Marwood, later Barnard Castle in Teesdale, and of Stokesley in the Cleveland district of Yorkshire.[1] This is merely a hazardous suggestion, due to the fact that the name Daniel seems to have been unusually common in the Balliol manors in Cleveland,[2] combined with the probability that a Walter son of Daniel had a Walter for his grandfather. It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the people north of the Humber have always been fond of the more uncommon Biblical names. In twelfth century deeds, one may find Absaloms, Jeremiahs, Gamaliels, and scores of others; and, if one is set on the discovery of Daniels, Daniels spring up at every turn. There was a Daniel of Newcastle, rather an important person, in Henry II.s' time. In the middle of the century a Daniel the steward owned land in St. Giles' Gate at York.[3] A Daniel witnessed the grant to St. Mary's Abbey, York, of Myton-upon-Swale,[4] and later we find a William son of Daniel among the monks of the same abbey.[5] Walter Daniel had a contemporary with the same name as his own, in Cumberland.[6]

Mr. Stenton shows that peasant holdings in Lincolnshire might have to be described in terms of feudal origin, pp. cxxxi-ii.

[1] Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Vol. VI. (1902), p. 14 ff.; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I., 438. Rayner of Stokesley (Bernard's steward) and Daniel son of Walter attested a confirmation by Bernard of a grant by Gui of Balliol to St. Mary's, York; Farrer, I., 440, No. 561.

[2] William son of Daniel (*Cartularium de Whiteby*, Surtees Soc., I., 53-54, 60; Farrer, I., 447-448, No. 569), Daniel of Kirkby (*Cart. de Whiteby*, I., 54; Farrer, I., 459 note), Jordan, son of Daniel of Ingleby-Greenhow (Farrer, I., 451 note). And compare Daniel of Yarm, the little Cleveland port on the Tees (*Cart. Prioratus de Gyseburne*, Surtees Soc., I., 97, 264; II. 43).

[3] Farrer, I., 216, No. 277. [4] *Ibid.*, II., 133, No. 791 (1100-1106).

[5] *Cart. de Rievalle*, Surtees Soc., p. 170.

[6] J. Wilson, *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, Surtees Soc. (1915), pp. 52-3, 83-4.

Daniel was dominus Daniel. Walter was magister Walterus. He had been to the schools, and knew his Porphyry and Isidore. His *Sentences* do not suggest that he had been very far afield, but the *Sentences* are not a fair guide. He may have been to Oxford or Paris before he got his licence to teach and become the Master Walter remembered by the monks of Rievaulx.[1] But I do not think that he went much further than York or Durham, and at York or Durham he could have acquired a greater variety of intellectual interests than he would seem to have possessed.[2] Whether like that Master Walter, to whom St. Bernard wrote a famous letter, he had ever been tempted by prospects of the fame and dignity which in the twelfth century came to the successful teacher of the cathedral schools, we do not know. I doubt it. "You may glory in your fame, wrote Bernard, and men may call you Rabbi, and you may bear a great name so long as you are upon the earth: what will these things avail you afterwards?"[3] In the circle to which our Walter's father belonged, these words must have been familiar. Abbot William of Rievaulx, who had been St. Bernard's amanuensis, may have been the first to write them down. Walter had his faults; he was too impulsive and excitable to be a perfect monk; but, as we shall see, he agreed with St. Bernard that the search after knowledge, whether for its own sake or for one's own glory, is vanity. He shows little sympathy with that other "clericus scolaris" who entered Rievaulx and whose periodic longings for the world caused Ailred such distress.

Ailred himself has left an impression of Walter Daniel in his *De Spirituali Amicitia* written towards the end of his life, when Walter was one of his closest companions. Walter gives us the clue, for he says definitely that two of the characters in this dialogue were Ivo, afterwards a monk of Wardon, a daughter house of Rievaulx in

[1] The catalogue of Rievaulx mentions the *Sentencie Magistri Walteri*, and the *Psalterium Magistri Walteri*: James, *Catalogue of MSS., of Jesus College*, pp. 49, 50.

[2] I shall return to this point in the last section of the paper.

[3] Saint Bernard to Master Walter of Chaumont, *Opera Sancti Bernardi*, ed. Mabillon, I., col. 108, ep. 104. The date is uncertain: Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard* (1895), I., 139-140.

Bedfordshire, and himself.[1] The second book opens with a personal conversation between Walter and the Abbot :—

AILRED : Come now, brother, why did you sit apart from us, all by yourself, while I was talking with those business men just now ? You were the picture of vexation, turning your eyes in all directions, rubbing your brow, tugging at your hair, darting angry looks.

WALTER : Who could sit patiently all day, while those casual servants of Pharaoh wasted your time, and we, who have a right to it, could not get in a word with you ?

AILRED : We must bear with such people. They can be of service to us, and we also may have reason to fear them. But they have gone now, and after the tiresome interruption, we can find all the more pleasure in our solitude.[2]

Walter apparently took no interest in monastic economy : perhaps this is why he has so little to say about it in his life of Ailred, one of the busiest and most sagacious men of his time. Moreover, he was not able to control his feelings—a trait which finds frequent expression in his writings. We get a more favourable glimpse of him at the beginning of the third book of the *De Spirituali Amicitia*. In the course of the second book a certain Gratian has been introduced. Gratian lives to love and be loved. He is a devotee in the temple of friendship ("alumnus amicitiae"). When the dialogue is resumed, he begs a brief delay, for Walter has not arrived, and Walter's presence is necessary—"He understands more quickly than I do, is better informed in argument, and has a better memory". "Do you hear that, Walter ?" says Ailred. "You see, Gratian is more friendly than you thought." But, though intellectually gifted, Walter is not magnanimous : "And how should he—the friend of all—not be a friend to me ?"[3] Here again, Ailred's delicate criticism is confirmed by the Vita Ailredi.

[1] Vita Ailredi, f. 70 b.—"edidit tres libros de spirituali amicitia sub dialogo. In quorum primo Iuonem supradictum se interrogantem introduxit et me in sequentibus loquentem secum ordinauit."

[2] P.L. CXCV., col. 669 b.

[3] *Ibid.*, 672 a, 679 b. Ailred makes it quite clear, in the *Speculum Caritatis* and in the *De Spirituali Amicitia*, that he depended during his monastic life on two particular friends, who died before him. Walter does not refer to them.

Walter was devoted to Ailred, but his devotion was not quite generous. He was too full of himself, quick to resent criticism, an irritable, perhaps a jealous man. One feels that Ailred felt a peculiar tenderness towards the "clerici scolares"—they were so quick, bright, sincere, loyal, and yet so touchy, so impulsive, so self-centred.

If we can trust the evidence of Leland and Bale, Walter Daniel was a prolific writer. Leland saw the Rievaulx manuscripts shortly before the dissolution, and his account of Walter and his writings deserves careful attention. Walter Daniel, he says, was the deacon of Abbot Ailred. He was worthy of his master, and, almost his equal in learning, wrote on the same philosophical and theological subjects. A list of his writings, Leland adds, is the best proof of this; they deserve publication after the long period of neglect in the library of a few obscure monks.[1] Bale, who copies Leland's note, adds that Walter lived about the year 1170 and died at Rievaulx. He gives the same list of writings with slightly different incipits :—[2]

Centum sententiae [*Ferculum sibi fecit salem*[3]].

Centum homiliae, *Adventus Domini* [*sanctum tempus*[4]]. Bale: *Adventus Domini nostri in carnem.*

Epistolae, justum volumen, *Mandasti mihi.* Bale: *Mandasti mihi ut hoc supra vires.*

De virginitate Mariae, *Crebris me Gualterum* [*provocas*[4]].

Expositio super "Missus est angelus Gabriel".

De honesta virginis formula, *Inprimis huius* [*inprima huius operis particula*[4]]. Bale: *inprimis huius nostri operis.*

De onere iumentorum austri libri ii, *Animadvertens* [*mi Gualter*[4]]. Bale: *Animadvertens in Esaiae* 30 *cap.*

[1] Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britanniae* (edit. Oxford, 1709), I., 200-201, chap. clxx. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748), p. 218, copies Leland. See also Selden's preface to the *Decem Scriptores* (1652), pp. xxvii-viii.

[2] Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae catalogus* (Bale, 1559), p. 213. Bale is followed closely by Pits (Paris, 1619), p. 234.

[3] The incipit is omitted by Leland, probably because he saw the mutilated MS. now in the Rylands Library, from which the opening folios are missing. It is given in the Rievaulx catalogue, James, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[4] The words enclosed in brackets are found in Leland's *Collectanea* (edit. Oxford, 1715), III., 38.

De vera amicitia libri V, *Quasi in biuio.* Bale: *Quasi in biuio iamdudum spaciatu.* [Pits: *spaciatur.*]

De concepcione beatae Mariae contra Nicholaum monachum libri ii. *Contra Nicholai* [*monachi*[1]]. Bale: *Contra Nicholai de S. Albano quon.* [Pits: *quodam.*]

The life of Ailred escaped Leland's notice. He was also unaware that Walter was the author of a work on the scope of philosophy, to which reference is made at the end of the *Centum Sententiae.*[2] This, with most of Walter's writings, is lost.

As Leland observes, Walter's interests were very similar to Ailred's. The five books on friendship recall Ailred's *De Spirituali Anicitiae*, the two books on the burdens of the beasts of the south (Isaiah xxx. 6) were presumably suggested by Ailred's famous sermons *De oneribus Isaiae*, while in his writings on the Virgin he chose a theme dear to the followers of St. Bernard, and frequently made the occasion by Ailred of his devotional discourses. But in at least one respect Walter's interests were more theological than Ailred's. The abbot's writings were either historical or ascetical. He seems to have had no inclination, he certainly was not led by the influence of the schools, to indulge in theological speculation. Now, if Leland and Bale were well informed, Walter wrote a treatise in two books against Nicholas, a monk of St. Albans, on the subject of the immaculate conception. He plunged into one of the vexed questions of the day. As is well known, St. Bernard, though he did so much to inspire the Church with veneration for the Virgin, did not accept the dogma of the immaculate conception. He used his influence to arrest the movement which was making headway, especially in Lyons, for the observance of the feast of the Conception.[3] In England this feast had been observed for some time. It had been observed in several places before the

[1] The words enclosed in brackets are found in Leland's *Collectanea* (edit. Oxford, 1715), III., 38.

[2] *Centum Sententiae*, f. 41r: "Hic huic sententie sententiarum nostrarum ultime finem pono, quare de his omnibus in libro nostro de perpropriis philosophie secundo sufficienter dissertum recolo." Walter may be referring, however, to the second book of Isidore's *Etymologiæ.*

[3] Ep. 174 in *Opera S. Bernardi*, I., col. 169-172. See especially Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, II., 78-96. Some early Cistercians seem to have accepted the doctrine; see the sermon attributed to Oglerio da Trino, Abbot of Locedio in the diocese of Vercelli, in *Opera S. Bernardi*, II., col. 653 d.

Norman Conquest, and early in the twelfth century it was revived in many of the great Benedictine houses. Anselm, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, and nephew of St. Anselm, had been especially active in the work of revival, and by 1150 the feast of the Conception was established in Westminster, Reading, Bury, St. Albans, Gloucester, Winchester, and Worcester.[1] A similar movement spread in Normandy.[2] St. Bernard's attitude, therefore, was not shared by the English Benedictines. Among those who followed Anselm of Bury was Nicholas, a monk of St. Albans, whose treatise against St. Bernard, and two letters on the same subject to Peter de la Celle, Abbot of Saint Rémi, afterwards Bishop of Chartres, still survive.[3] As a Cistercian admirer of Bernard of Clairvaux Walter Daniel apparently sought to check the influence of Nicholas of St. Albans.

No more is known of Walter and his activities. Between 1153 and 1157 Bishop Hugh of Durham confirmed land in Allertonshire to Rievaulx, and among the witnesses were Walter, monk and chaplain, and another Walter, a monk.[4] The first Walter was perhaps the former chaplain of Walter Espec, founder of Rievaulx,[5] the second may have been our Walter.

II.

The "Centum Sententiae".

Of the writings attributed by Leland to Walter Daniel, only the *Centum Sententiae* has yet been identified. By a curious coincidence it is also the only work of Walter mentioned in the thirteenth century catalogue of the Rievaulx Library. The manuscript, now Latin MS. 196, in the John Rylands Library, is described as follows by M. Robert Fawtier :—

Codex on vellum, 45 leaves and one fly leaf in paper. 252 mm. × 156 mm.

[1] Edmund Bishop in the *Downside Review*, April, 1886, an article reprinted in his *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 238 ff.

[2] Vacandard, in *Revue des questions historiques* (1897), LXI., 166.

[3] Mr. Bishop identified the treatise of Nicholas with MS. Bod. Auct. D. 4, 18. For the correspondence between Nicholas and Peter de la Celle, see P.L. CCII., col. 613-632, and Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, II., 85, 86, 96.

[4] *Cart. de Rievalle*, p. 27, No. 49; Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charter*, II., 289, No. 952; compare also Nos. 954-955.

[5] Afterwards prior of Dundrennan (Vita Ailredi, f. 62 c).

Three manuscripts bound together—
(1) MS. A, 6 leaves (ff. 1-6) signed III (f. 6 v°).
(2) MS. B, 8 leaves (ff. 7-14) without signatures.
(3) MS. C, 31 leaves (ff. 15-45) without signatures.
30 lines to a page.
Written in six English hands (*a*) ff. 1-6, end of the twelfth century.
(*b*) ff. 7-14, nearly of the same time, but a little later.
(*c*) ff. 15-36, (*d*) ff. 37-41, (*e*) ff. 41v-42, (*f*) ff. 42-45v } all of the first half of the thirteenth century.
Initials in red and green (MSS. A and C), in red alone (MS. B). For this reason too late a date must not be assigned to MS. C, green having been used very rarely in the drawing of initials in the thirteenth and later centuries, though very common in the twelfth.
There are rubrics in the margins and in the text.
Numerous notes have been made in the margins by different hands, some being additions to the text written by the copyists, others, by a fourteenth century hand, afterwards erased, and now quite illigible, others, the majority, by the hand of Thomas Comber, of whom below. Except at the end the manuscript is accurately written.
The manuscript is bound in wooden boards once covered with white vellum of which fragments are still left. There are also remains of metallic ornaments on the cover.

The manuscript unhappily is incomplete. Two gatherings and probably the first two leaves of the third are missing, and, as Leland does not give the incipit of the work, they were probably missing in the sixteenth century. In its present form the text begins in the middle of the thirtieth sententia. A leaf which contained the end of sentence 73, sentence 74 and the beginning of sentence 75 is missing between the leaves now numbered 24 and 25, also another leaf, between the leaves now numbered 28 and 29, which contained the end of sentence 81 and the beginning of sentence 82. The sentences end on f. 41r, and are followed by four homilies (ff. 41v-45v). These also were written by Walter Daniel.

After the dissolution of the monasteries, the manuscript seems to have fallen into the hands of the Thorntons of East Newton, a manor three or four miles south-east of Helmsley, in the parish of Stonegrave, Ryedale Wapentake.[1] For the following note is written in the margin of the first folio : "Author hujus MS. vocatur nomine waltheri folio penultimo : forte opus est monachi illius Angli de quo legimus apud Baleum de Scriptor. Anglis"—then comes a quotation about Walter Daniel from Bale—"imo folio antepenultimo reperitur nomen ejus perfectum scilicet Walterus Danielis. ita opinor donec meliora proferuntur. T. Comber, 1676". A reference follows to Selden's note in the Decem Scriptores. T. Comber, who thus identified the author of the *Sentences*, was the son-in-law of the last of the Thorntons, and succeeded to the manor of East Newton. He had made William Thornton's acquaintance and joined his household when curate to the rector of Stonegrave. In 1669 he became rector of Stonegrave, and after other preferment of various kinds, was presented to the deanery of Durham. He was in his time a theologian and controversialist of considerable repute. After his death in 1699,[2] East Newton came to his son and grandson, both of whom were named Thomas. Walter Daniel's manuscript aroused the grandson's curiosity. In August, 1762, he wrote out in the margins translations of several of the sentences and sermons and inscribed a tedious poem of over fifty lines on the fly-leaf. Mr. Comber, who describes himself as curate of East Newton (diaconus Neutoniensis), was impressed, as he well might be, by the contrast between the Rievaulx of Walter Daniel's day and the ruins of his own, with their setting of terraces, Greek temples, and landscape gardens. On his new terrace overlooking the abbey Mr. Thomas Duncombe had recently built two temples, in the style so freely affected in the eighteenth century. "At one end," wrote an observer in 1810 to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "is a circular Tuscan temple ; at the other (that nearest the abbey) a porticoed Ionic one. The latter, both within and without, is marked by a chaste elegance. It consists of a single room, the ceilings and cones of which

[1] Robert Thornton, the fifteenth century transcriber of the Thornton romances, was a member of this family.

[2] Rev. T. Comber, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Comber, D.D., Dean of Durham* (London, 1799) ; *Victoria County History of Yorkshire, North Riding*, I., 563 ; *D.N.B.*, XI., 435-437.

are ornamented with paintings by Burnice, an Italian artist, some original, the others from the most admired works of Guido." [1] As Mr. Thomas Comber, B.A., late of Jesus College, Cambridge, soliloquized—

> The monk beholds, but with astonish'd eyes,
> On Rivalx well-known bank a temple rise,
> A temple of Ægyptian form display'd,
> While his lov'd convent is in ruins laid.

He reflected that the creator of this elegant retreat had a natural right to own the manuscript which he had found at East Newton, and, if he carried out his intention, the work of Walter Daniel passed with Mr. Comber's poem and translations into the Library of Duncombe Park. It was bought by the Rylands Library in 1914.

The first thirty sentences, as has been said, are missing, and the original incipit—*Ferculam sibi fecit salem*—is only known from the mediæval catalogue of the monastic library. The book does not require—nor does it invite—detailed examination. A list of its contents will show the class of devotional literature to which it belongs.[2]

f. 1 (end of sentence xxx).

et perseuerantia esse cernuntur. Cum ueteri igitur Testamento uetera transierunt et noua in nouo salubriter subsequuntur. . . . Nempe lege deficiente corporaliter defecerunt Ephod et Teraphim, Euangelio uero subsequente spiritualiter perseuerant Cherubim et Seraphin qui Deum sine fine laudare non cessant. Amen.

XXXI. Duo maxime animam vegetant pinguedine spiritali uita uidelicet et uoluntas bona.

XXXII. Misericordiam et judicium cantabo tibi domine.

XXXIII. Duo sunt motus anime ira et concupiscentia.

XXXIV. Duo sunt caro et spiritus.

XXXV. Omnis anima aut calida est aut frigida.

XXXVI. Triformis est sanctarum status animarum : probatorius, purgatorius, renumeratorius.

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1810, part i., pp. 601-603. The terrace and temples were built shortly before 1758; see John Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (York, 1758), p. 560.

[2] The following transcript is due to Mr. Fawtier.

XXXVII. Tria omnino necessaria sunt omni anime christiane : bonitas, disciplina, scientia.

XXXVIII. Tres sunt anime profectus : primus est penitentie, secundus consolationis, tertius consummationis.

[in. marg.] primus compunctionis, secundus indulgentie, tertius purgate conscientie.

XXXIX. Tres sunt generales anime corruptiones, concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum et superbia vite.

XL. Tres sunt anime hostes : caro, mundus, diabolus.

XLI. Tria et tria, unum contra unum, bonum contra malum, et malum contra bonum.

XLII. Tres sunt prolapse anime reparationes : confessio, precatio, laudatio.

XLIII. Tribus pronuntiationibus diffinit apostolus : caritatem videlicet ex corde puro, et conscientia bona et fide non ficta.

XLIV. Tria sunt quibus anima per Dei gratiam pervenit ad perfectionem : admonitio, operatio, oratio.

XLV. Tria sunt oscula : de primo dicitur : osculetur me osculo oris sui ; de secundo dicit Ysaac filio suo : da mihi osculum fili mi ; de tertio est illud domini cum Juda : osculo tradis filium hominis.

XLVI. Tres sunt panes : similagineus, subcinericeus, ordeaceus. . . .

XLVII. Tres sunt specialiter columbe : prima et principaliter est que descendit super Jesum in Jordane ; secunda que ad Noe in archam attulit ramum olive ; tertia cujus pennas petiit David dicens : quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columba.

XLVIII. Tres sunt anime affectus quibus adjuncta virtute quamplurimum proficit ad salutem. Sunt autem timor, amor, desiderium.

IL. Homo electus tres habet dies. Primus est a nativitate usque ad mortem ; secundus a morte usque ad carnis resurrectionem ; tertius a carnis resurrectione usque in, ut ita dixerim, sine fine. [*corr.* finem].

L. Judas genuit Phares et Zaram de Thamar. Quatuor horum significatiua nominum quamplurimum ualent ad modum confessionis et ordinem insinuandum. Judas nempe confitens uel confessio, Thamar amaritudo, Phares diuisio, Zara ortus aut oriens interpretatur.

LI. Quatuor sunt crucis dimensiones, altitudo, latitudo, longitudo et profondum.

LII. Quatuor sunt uirtutes cardinales multorum philosophorum approbate judicio necnon doctorum catholicorum autoritate confirmate. Sunt autem : justicia, prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia.

LIII. Quatuor sunt cornua altaris thimiamatis.

LIV. Quatuor militibus qui Christum crucifixerunt quatuor uitia mundi uidelicet amor, elationis timor, carnalis uoluptatis fetor, aliene felicitatis dolor intelligi possunt.

LV. Quatuor quidam sunt quorum quidem duo habere sub pedibus et duo debet conculcare perfectus. Unde David : super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Aspis est occulta detractio, basilicus est cordis elatio, leo temeraria presumptio, draco perseverans desperatio.

LVI. Quatuor modis affligitur homo perfectus. Aliquando corporis infirmitate, saepius prauorum persecutione, nonnunquam etiam diabolica temptatione, assidue uero uirtutum exercitatione.

LVII. Quatuor quedam sunt que beatum Job intra sanctitatis circulum includere uidentur : uidelicet quod uir, quod simplex, quod rectus, quod timens Deum predicatur.

LVIII. Quatuor sunt uigiliae noctis : nox est uita humana. . . .

LIX. Quatuor sunt Evangeliste : Matheus, Marcus, Lucas et Johannes.

LX. Quatuor sunt in favo : cera, mel, dulcedo, artificium.

LXI. Quatuor sunt genera hominum : perfectorum, uidelicet, pessimorum, minus bonorum et minus malorum.

LXII. Quatuor sunt genera letitie : est namque letitia perniciosa, est superstitiosa, est fructuosa, est gloriosa.

LXIII. Quatuor sunt in homine uoluntas, mens, lingua, manus.

LXIV. Quinque pertitus anime sensus in prothoplastis nimis obscuratus est ut ex genesi facile probari potest. Sunt autem ipsi sensus quinque : uisus, auditus, odoratus, gustus et tactus.

LXV. Quinque quedam sunt sine quibus salutis humane non consistit perfectio. Sunt autem fides, spes, caritas, pax, sanctimonia sine qua nemo uidebit Deum.

LXVI. Sub pennis animalium manus hominis subaudis erat.

Quinque specialiter penne alam extendunt ad uolatum. Sunt autem spiritualiter carnis purgatio, mentis devotio, frequens divine laudationis confessio, recte sursum eleuationis intentio, theorice speculationis contemplatio.

LXVII. Jacob et Esau duo sunt populi, electorum et reprobatorum, de quibus Dominus Rebecce : duo populi in utero tuo sunt et due gentes ex uentre tuo dividentur. . . .

LXVIII. Duas gentes odit anima mea, tertia autem non est gens quam oderim : qui sedent in monte Feyr et Philistum et stultus populus qui habitat in Sichimis.

LXIX. Multis modis erudit nos magister noster Christus : nunc preceptis, nunc prohibitionibus, nunc monitis, nunc exemplis, nunc etiam argumentis conclusiuis.

LXX. Noe uir iustus fuit in generatione sua. Magnum est inter pravos perfectionem sanctitatis habere, inter iniquos consequi summam justicie et sine uirtutis exemplo in alio in se ipso arcem puritatis ostendere.

LXXI. Pauci admodum episcopi sex uidelicet seu septem a Nicena sinodo recedentes homousion id est consubstantialitatem patris et filii non receperunt.

LXXII. Erat Abraham diues ualde in possessione argenti et auri. Sunt qui habent argentum et non habent aurum et sunt qui aurum habent et argentum non habent.

LXXIII. Una mulier hebrea fecit confusionem in domo regis Nubugodonosor. Nubugodonosor interpretatur prophetans istius modi signum. . . .

[*One leaf missing.*]

LXXVI. Dixit Ysaias Ezechie regi egrotanti : dispone domini tue quia-morieris tu et non uiues. Ysaias interpretatur salus. . .

LXXVII. In diebus illis saluabitur Juda et Israel habitabit confidenter. In quibus queso illis diebus ? Plane in istis quibus nunc uiuimus mouemur et sumus. Ecce nunc tempus. . . .

LXXVIII. Fauus distillans labia tua sponsa. Sponsus et sponsa se inuicem laudant in reciprocis precoñüs alterutram commendant pulcritudinem. . . .

LXXIX. Spiritus meus super mel dulcis et hereditas mea super mel et fauum. Quis hic loquitur ? Deus . . .

LXXX. Nisi lauero te non habebis partem mecum, ait Dominus Petro. Verum ueritas loquitur.

LXXXI. Fecit deus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam. Ad imaginem ut secundum modum suum quomodo Deus et rationalis esset et immortalis. . . .

[*One leaf missing.*]

LXXXIII. Fugite fornicationem dicit Apostolus. Tribus modis fugit homo fornicationem. Fugit itaque ut de muliere non cogitet. . . .

LXXXIV. Sex quidam sunt: pastor, mercenarius, ovis, canis, fur, lupus. Parabolam istam ita edissero. . . .

LXXXV. Qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati. Miseranda seruitus seruire peccato quia qui seruit peccato seruit etiam diabolo cui seruire est perire. . . .

LXXXVI. Tria sunt in oue. Lana, lac, limus. Lana calefacit algentem, lac reficit esurientem, limus humum infecundam uberem facit et fertilem.

LXXXVII. Tria maxime monacho sunt necessaria: ut uidelicet uoluntatem suam diuine subiciat uoluntati. . . .

LXXXVIII. Tres patriarche principales: Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, omnes pastores fuerunt. . . .

LXXXIX. Tria hominum genera sunt. Sunt enim homines prudentes sine simplicitatis innocentia et sunt simplices sine prudentia. Sunt autem simplices et prudentes. . . .

XC. Cum consummauerit homo tunc incipit. Omni electo homini due sunt uite una in hoc seculo altera in futuro. . . .

XCI. Venter illius eburneus distinctus saphiris. Venter sponsi fragilitas est humanitatis domini quia uentri nichil fragilius est in homine, nichil tenerius, nichilque facilius ledi potest.

XCII. Qui timet Deum faciet bona. Non ait: qui timet Deum facit bona quia qui Deum ueraciter timet. . . .

XCIII. Qui sitit ueniat ad me et bibat. Non hic Christus ad se inuitat sitientem aquam quam bibunt cum hominibus et pecoribus. . . .

XCIIII. Tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te. Si hec sponsi uerba dicta intelliguntur sancte cuilibet anime uel sancte matri ecclesie.

XCV. Mulierem fortem quis inuenietur. Non incongrue per mulierem fortem anima sancta et perfecta que bonis operibus Deum suum. . . .

XCVI. Manum suam misit ad fortia, ait Salomon, de sancta et perfecta anima que Deo ueraciter cum David dicere potest. . . .

XCVII. Quinque monacho maxime sunt necessaria. Oris uidelicet silentium usque ad interrogationem. . . .

XCVIII. Antequam comedam susspiro. Haec sunt uerba beati Job et utinam sint mea, utinam sint tua. . . .

IC. Duo ubera tua ut duo hinnuli capree gemelli. Omnis conatus hominis in rebus arduis florido principio. . . .

C. Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me ait David Deo. Tres hec petitiones David a Deo quasi tres anime sunt substanciales . . . (f. 40^{v}-41^{r}) Possunt itaque bonitati discipline et scientie, tres philosophie partes, congrue coaptari, ethica, scilicet, phisica logica, id est, moralis naturalis rationalis. Ethica componit mores, phisica disponit cognationes, logica prudenter profert sermones. Ethica legem destruit que est in membris, phisica contra legem peccati legem defendit que dicitur mentis, logica ratione bene regit statum totius hominis. Ethica propellit a corpore peccata sensualia, phisica excludit a mente peccata spiritualia, logica in animam introducit bona intellectualia. Hic huic sententie sententiarum nostrarum ultime finem pono, quia de his omnibus in libro nostro de perpropriis philosophie secundo sufficienter dissertum recolo. Sit omnibus rievallensibus a deo pax et ueritas sine fine et sanctimonia. Amen.

Expliciunt sententie numero centum.

These are not " sentences " in the sense of the schools. In spite of the attempt at systematic arrangement—duo sunt, tria sunt, quatuor sunt—and the play which Walter makes with the traditional division of philosophy into ethics, physics, and logic,[1] the book has no philosophical interest. Scholastic method was painfully achieved in the twelfth

[1] Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, lib. ii., XXIV., §§ 3 *seqq*. On the history of this Platonic definition and its modification in the twelfth century, see Grabmann, *Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II. (1911), 30-54.

century through the compilation and elaboration of sentences by the masters of the schools. These sentences in the first instance were classified collections of extracts, theses and reflections, drawn from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Canons—"flores quos solemus, quasi singulari nomine, sententias appellare". A *sententia* by a slight advance in meaning became a definition or exposition of the true meaning of a passage (intelligentia textus) and finally in the *Summae Sententiarum* and *Libri Sententiarum* which appeared in the last period of the century the sentence is, to use the later phrase of Albert the Great, "conceptio definita et certissima". Peter the Lombard's sentences, which can fairly be described as an encyclopædic synopsis of Christian dogma, were of this last type.[1] The great schoolmen of the thirteenth century cleared their minds and developed their systems in commentaries upon the sentences of the Lombard.

Walter's work has no place in this intellectual progress. It is a fanciful exercise in edification, which only in form distantly recalls the sentences of the schools. Like these, it has grown out of the collections of extracts and flowers of speech—the Rievaulx catalogue mentions several such—and doubtless much of it would be familiar to scholars who are versed in the devotional and homiletic literature between the days of St. Isidore of Seville and St. Bernard. But Walter is really influenced by the methods of the preacher. He is arranging sermon headings into neat patterns under the mystical inspiration of Bernard and Ailred. Numerical combinations, especially the triad, have always had a fascination for the mystic. As is well known, this mystical appreciation of numbers developed under the influence of writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, translated in the tenth century by Scotus Erigena, into a precise description of the powers and hierarchies of the universe. But for the needs of every day a knowledge of the Bible and the traditional methods of the preacher sufficed. Solomon had set the example. "For three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear." "There be four things which are little upon the earth".[2] In the writings of

[1] Denifle, in *Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I., 587; Ghellinck, *La mouvement theologique du xiie siècle* (1914), p. 131; Grabmann, *op. cit.*, II., 21-23; M. de Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy* (Eng. Trans., 1909), p. 206.

[2] Proverbs xxx. 21, 24.

the mystical school dominated by St. Bernard, we can find many parallels to the sentences of Walter Daniel. Wood, hay, stubble correspond to three kinds of men. There are four mountains to be ascended, four fountains of the Saviour, four ways of loving.[1] In a *Liber Sententiarum* extracted from the sermons of the time, we have a work which, if its method were not so obvious, might have suggested to Walter his own more systematic and deliberate production. From St. Bernard the anonymous collection takes the three kisses of reconciliation, remembrance, and contemplation.[2] Another sentence tells us of the three doors through which entrance is made into life—the truth of faith, which is the door behind which Sara laughs, the firmness of hope, which is the door in the side of the ark, the strength of charity (caritatis soliditas) which is the door kept by the Cherubim with the flaming sword.[3]

St. Bernard developed fancies of this kind with a passionate originality and penetration into the experiences of the soul which can still give them life. Ailred wrote with the serenity of the man who is sure of himself and quietly aware of the foibles and difficulties of his hearers. Walter Daniel had neither originality nor serenity. His fertile imagination revelled in these devotional exercises, but he had no literary charm or spiritual force. A few casual recollections of the schools, and a little outburst in praise of the Cistercian rule are about as much as we can glean from his meditations.[4] He himself seems to have become tired of his plan; the sentences become increasingly homiletic in tone and are at last indistinguishable from sermons. I quote a passage from the beginning of the 96th sentence as a specimen of his style. It is also a good illustration of the difficulties to which the allegorical exposition of the Vulgate was exposed :—

[1] *Sermones de diversis*, XXX., LXI., XCVI., CI., in *Opera S. Bernardi*, Vol. I., coll. 1152, 1199, 1224, 1229.

[2] These short sentences are printed in the *Opera S. Bernardi*, Vol. II., coll. 788 ff. No. 162 "oscula tria sunt" corresponds to No. 8 in the sentences taken from St. Bernard (I., 1245). Ailred also deals with this subject in his *De Spirituali Amicitia* (P.L., CXCV., coll. 672-673). His three kinds of kiss, as also Walter Daniel's (*Sententia* No. 45), are different from St. Bernard's.

[3] *Liber Sententiarum*, No. 150.

[4] *Sententiæ*, Nos. 87, 97, 100.

"Manum suam misit ad fortia,[1] says Solomon, of the holy and perfect soul which with David can truly say to God, I will commit my strength (fortitudinem) to Thee. The following sentence must receive a different interpretation in accordance with the preceding moral sense. Manum suam misit ad fortia, he says, et digiti eius apprehenderunt fusum. I ask, what consequence is there in the literal meaning (in littere dumtaxat superficie). . . . For the end of the sentence is concerned with weakness, not with strength. What is the suggestion if a person holds the distaff with the hand, plucks the wool and draws the thread along to the spindle? Do not all these things relate to the labour of weak women rather than the deeds of strong men? If they are not allegorical, why are they read in churches? Why are passages of this kind recited before the people in sacred places (in albis locis quia sacris) if they do not carry spiritual meanings?"[2]

Four short sermons follow the hundred sentences in the Rylands MS. :—

(*a*) f. 41v. Sermo breuis de beato Johanne Baptiste.
Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Iohannes. Ecce quomodo a uerbo substantiuo fuit. Iohannes Euangelista beatum Iohannem Baptistam subito introduxit in seriem theologie sue ut quasi duo seraphin clament aduinicem. . . .

f. 42r. (*Explicit*). . . Infra quorum ambitum murorum precursos domini Iohannis quadrata equalitate uitae sue apicem in medio suspendit ut nulla ex parte in aliquo excedens uel plus uel minus ageret quam deberet per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

(*b*) Uiderunt stellam Magi. Quemadmodum, dilectissimi, lane species eius colorata substantia tam pretio quam decore mutatur in melius ita quoque ueri assertionem eloquentie flore uestitam etiam eruditi auditores. . . .

f. 43r. (*Explicit*). . . Sufficiant uobis haec pauca eruditis corde in sapientia. Nunc autem de eadem apotheca paruulis istis

[1] Proverbs xxxi. 19. The Hebrew "kishôr" translated ἐπὶ τὰ συμφέροντα (LXX) or ἀνδρεία, whence the Vulgate "ad fortia," is rendered "distaff" in the A.V.

[2] *Centum Sententiae*, f. 36v.

micas non panes porrigemus. Solet sic facere sepius Walterus Danielis. Amen.

(*c*) f. 43v. Regnum Dei intra uos est. Quisquis, dilectissimi, uerbo proximum edificare desiderat, metas ingenii et scientie sue uires non excedat.

f. 44r. (*Explicit*). . . Est autem omnis ypocrita fictus unde nullus gaudet in Spiritu Sancto quia teste Scriptura Spiritus Sanctus effugit fictum. Spiritu Sancte Deus in te semper gaudeat Walterus. Amen.

(*d*) f. 44v. [D]iscite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde, dicit filius Dei. Quomodo, dilectissimi, uita carnis corporeo subtracto alimento periclitatur in mortem, ita quoque uirtus anime uerbi attenuata penuria. . . .

f. 45v. (*Explicit*). . . Et quoniam hodierna die sanctorum omnium sollempnia celebramus, demus operam per humilitatis meritum ad eorum peruenire consortium.

In the last sermon Walter compares the three parts (*sectas*) of philosophy to three sorts of bread, and elaborates their virtues in the manner of the passage already quoted from the last of his sentences. A more interesting passage from the second sermon, that on the story of the Magi, is worthy of quotation, for it is the only one which throws light both on the extent of his reading and his attitude to the learning of the schools.

(f. 42v. line 12). "It now remains, in honour of the infant Christ, to say something also of the ancient philosophers. They knew God as a Creator, but they did not glorify Him as God or give thanks, but lost themselves in their imaginings. To be darkened, a thing must in some measure be capable of giving light. For example, a black crow or a dead coal is not darkened, but gold, silver, electrum,[1] and such-like can be darkened. In so far, therefore, as the philosophers knew God their hearts were in some degree shining, but in so far as they worshipped idols and offered sacrifices to them, there hearts were darkened. Plato, the greatest of them (*ipse princeps eorum Plato*), both said and wrote that God had

[1] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, lib. xvi., 24: "Electrum uocatum quod ad radium solis clarius auro argentoque reluceat".

> created all things, yet he used to worship idols and to encourage their worship. His heart was darkened. Moreover, he had very erroneous ideas about creatures, for he asserted both in word and writing that human souls pass into the bodies of beasts. No one blessed with faith (*fide formosus*) has any difficulty in seeing the blackness of this opinion. Apuleius, again, that fine Platonist and scholar (*platonicus nobilis et bene latinus*), affirmed certain demons to be good and called them *eudemones ;* bad demons he called lemurs and larvas. I say that no demon can be good. All demons are bad and are unable to change their evil natures, for no demon can be moved by the affection of charity, without which the sweets of goodness cannot be desired or acquired. Hence, all those philosophers perished because of their iniquity. . . . Their books are not read in the Church of God ; I say, the Topics of Cicero, Aristotle's Categories, the Introduction of Porphyry are not read in the Church."

And in the last sermon Walter says—"Our Master Christ did not teach grammar, rhetoric, dialectic in his school ; he taught humility, pity, and righteousness".[1]

We cannot be certain that Walter Daniel had read Apuleius He was no John of Salisbury. He could find the Platonic theory of the transmigration of souls, and the Apuleian demonology in Isidore and Macrobius.[2] The *Topics* and the translations made by Boethius of the *Categories*, and of Porphyry's *Isagoge* were the logical textbooks of the schools.

III.

The "Vita Ailredi".

Until 1901, the only mediæval life of Ailred available in print was that included by John Capgrave in his collection of the lives of

[1] Rylands MS., f. 45v.—"Magister noster Christus in schola sua non docuit grammaticam rethoricam dialecticam sed docuit humilitatem mansuetudinem et iustitiam." The Schola Christi, and its difference from the schools of the world, were favourite themes of St. Bernard.

[2] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, lib. viii., 6, 11. *Cf.* Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. ii., c. 26, for pagan ideas of daemones. John of Salisbury mentions Plato's doctrine of transmigration in his *Policraticus*, lib. vii., c. 10 (ed. Webb, II., 134) and frequently quotes Apuleius: see Webb's index.

English saints. This was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. Bollandus reprinted it in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* in 1643,[1] under the date 12 January. Mabillon and other scholars of the seventeenth century who were interested in Ailred and his writings knew of no other life of the saint. "I have received a letter from Dom Mabillon," wrote the Cistercian J. de Lannoy of Citeaux to Luc d'Achery. "He tells me that the life of the blessed Ailred is in Bollandus. I knew that already, but it is nothing more than that given by Capgrave."[2] In the appendix to his edition of Wynkyn de Worde's *Nova Legenda Angliae*, published at Oxford in 1901, Dr. Carl Horstmann printed from an important Bury manuscript, now Bodleian MS. 240, a number of saints' lives, including a somewhat fuller version of the life of Ailred. As is now well known, Capgrave had simply rearranged in the fifteenth century the hagiographical material collected by John of Tynemouth at St. Albans in the second quarter of the fourteenth century: this is still extant in a Cottonian manuscript (Tib. E. 1) and is known as the *Sanctilogium Angliae*. The Bodleian MS. 240, which was written at Bury St. Edmunds in 1377 and the succeeding years, also seems to contain materials collected by John of Tynemouth. The life of Ailred in this collection is longer, yet strikingly similar, to the life in the *Sanctilogium Angliae*, afterwards used by Capgrave,[3] and the Bollandists have naturally supposed that the latter is a summary of it.[4] A closer examination of the two versions shows this view to be erroneous. As we shall see, they are both summaries, made independently of each other, of the life of Ailred written by Walter Daniel.

Walter's life of Ailred, though noticed as early as 1865 by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy,[5] has hitherto escaped the attention of hagiographers. It survives in a manuscript written late in the fourteenth

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, January, I., 749 (1643).

[2] This letter, which is undated, has been printed in the *Revue Mabillon*, August, 1914-Dec., 1919, p. 135. The writer states later that Mabillon was using Ailred, with other writers, in giving exercises to novices.

[3] The texts are in Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, I., 41-46; II., 544-553. For John of Tynemouth's work see the valuable introduction to the first volume.

[4] *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, Vol. II., *Supplement*, p. 1342, Nos. 2644 b, 2645 (Brussels, 1901).

[5] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, II., 292 (Rolls Series, 1865).

century, probably in the monastery of Durham. It was acquired by Thomas Man at the end of the seventeenth century, and came with other manuscripts to Jesus College, Cambridge.[1] The life of Ailred occupies folios 63^{v} to 74^{r}. It is preceded by a letter from Walter Daniel to a certain Maurice (ff. 61 a-63 b) and is followed by a lamentation, also a characteristic outburst by Walter (ff. 74 a-75 b). All three works are written in the same clear neat hand. Each chapter begins with a small illuminated capital.

The life was written sometime before the letter to Maurice and the lamentation. In a short dedication to a certain Abbot H. (*uirorum dulcissimo abbati H.*), Walter refers to the recent death of Ailred. There is no definite evidence that any Abbot H., likely to be familiar with Rievaulx, was living in 1167, the year of Ailred's death, but it is possible that Abbot Hugh had already been elected at Revesby and almost certain that Abbot Henry then ruled at Waverley.[2] Waverley was the senior Cistercian house in England and was doubtless in close touch with Rievaulx; on the other hand, Revesby was a daughter of Rievaulx, and was not very far away. A cryptic allusion in the letter which Walter wrote later to Maurice suggests that this sweet-natured Abbot H. was named Henry.[3] If this inference is sound, I am inclined to identify him with Henry of Waverley.

[1] Jesus College, Cambridge, MS., Q. B. 7. For a description see James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 28-29, No. 24. One or two additions may be made to this description. The second item, the *Speculum Religiosorum* (ff. 13-50), is the work ascribed by Tanner to the canonist William "de Pagula," vicar of Winfield (fl. 1350). The summary of the *Historia Aurea* is of course a summary of the chronicle compiled by John of Tynemouth. Both it and the calendar included in this manuscript betray a Durham *provenance*. The work of Walter Daniel is followed by an incomplete copy of Ailred's *De Oneribus* (fo. 75^{v}).

[2] The earliest charter, attested by Hugh, which I have found, and which can be dated, belongs to the year 1175 (*Cart. de Rievalle*, p. 82, No. 132; for the date see No. 133). A charter definitely dated January, 1176, is in Stenton, *Documents illustrative of the Danelaw*, p. 215, No. 285. On the other hand, Abbot Philip, who died in 1166, was succeeded by Gualo, so that it is unlikely that Hugh was abbot when Walter Daniel began his work. Henry, third Abbot of Waverley, died in 1182, but as his predecessor Gilbert was elected in 1128, Henry was doubtless elected before the date of Ailred's death in 1167. Gilbert was alive in 1148 (*Annales Monastici*, II., 241, 242, V. 238).

[3] "Hinc est illud Henrici dicentis [e] cuius ore sermo melle dulcior profluebat" (f. 62 d).

Ailred had to face a good deal of opposition during his life, and scandals revived, if we are to believe Walter, immediately after his death. It was said by some that he had worked for his own election as Abbot of Rievaulx.[1] When Walter's work appeared, it met with much criticism. His description of Ailred's chaste and ascetic life as a youth at King David's Court, the miracles which he alleged Ailred to have worked, the extravagant language which he used about the brightness of the saint's corpse were especially criticized. A certain Maurice had shown the work to two prelates, and it was as a reply to their animadversions, reported by Maurice, that Walter wrote the long letter which precedes the biography proper in the Durham manuscript. I give this interesting apology in full at the end of this paper, for both the criticisms of the prelates and Walter's reply are excellent illustrations of mediæval habits of thought. The identity of Maurice and of the prelates is as doubtful as the identity of the sweet-natured Abbot H. I have urged elsewhere and still think it quite likely that Maurice was Ailred's predecessor, a learned monk who migrated from Durham to Rievaulx about the year 1138, and was elected abbot after Abbot William's death in 1145. On his retirement in 1147 he continued to live at Rievaulx, except for a brief interval of a few weeks as Abbot of Fountains. He was living in 1163, and, if we assume that he left Rievaulx to end his days elsewhere, he would be as obvious a correspondent and critic of Walter Daniel as we could find.[2] But when I made this suggestion I was not aware of the existence in 1167 of another Maurice, a few miles from Rievaulx. This was Maurice, Prior of Kirkham, the home of Austin Canons, founded, ten years before he founded Rievaulx, by Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley. My friend Mr. Craster has called my attention to writings of Maurice, contained in a fifteenth century manuscript now in the Bodleian Library. The earlier and more important is a polemic, which can be dated 1169-1176, *contra Salomitas*, or those who hold that Salome, the companion of the two Marys, was a man. It is dedicated to Gilbert, the famous founder and Prior of Sempringham. This is followed by an epistle, of later

[1] Vita Ailredi, f. 69 a.

[2] See my paper on Maurice of Rievaulx in the *English Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1921, XXXVI., 17-25.

date, to Roger, Archbishop of York, and some complimentary verses.[1] In Maurice of Kirkham we have another likely, perhaps still more likely, critic at Walter Daniel's service. It would be delightful if in Prior Gilbert and Archbishop Roger we could see the two carping prelates who annoyed Walter so much.

A brief examination of the life of Ailred compiled by John of Tynemouth for his *Sanctilogium Angliae*—the work copied by Capgrave and printed by the Bollandists—shows that it is based entirely on Walter Daniel. The compiler had before him the text both of the life proper, and of the later letter to Maurice; but as he made no distinction between them, and selected his material from them impartially, the original character of the two pieces is obscured. Miracles taken from the letter to Maurice begin and end John's summary. Walter's personal recollections, as well as his rhapsodies, are omitted, his extravagancies are pruned, and his verbose narrative frequently cut down to a few terse sentences.

The other summary of Walter's book, first printed by Horstmann in 1901 from the Bury manuscript now in the Bodleian, has no relation to the better known work. It may have been acquired by John of Tynemouth; it can hardly have been made by him. The author used a manuscript which contained Walter's life of Ailred, and also his later letter to Maurice. He summarized or extracted passages which John of Tynemouth passed over, and he disregarded passages which, in the *Sanctilogium*, John used. He omitted, for example, all references to Ailred's journey to Galloway, and to Walter's strictures on Galloway society. Although he made only one addition to the text of Walter—a reference to the fact that Henry, the King's son and Waldef, afterwards Abbot of Melrose were brought up with Ailred at King David's court[2]—he had definite views of his own about Ailred. In a short appendix to his compendium he shows himself familiar with the criticisms which had been made against parts of Walter's work. He attempts to prove from Ailred's own writings that the saint's early life was not so spotless as Walter would have us believe.[3] He then proceeds to atone for this assertion of his

[1] Bodleian MS., Hatton, 92, ff. 1-37.

[2] Horstmann, *Nova Legenda*, II., 545. This insertion may have come from Jocelin's *Life of St. Waldef.*

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 552-553.

independence by referring his readers to the eulogy upon Ailred delivered by Gilbert, Abbot of Hoilandia (Swineshead).

Abbot Gilbert's eulogy has survived.[1] When the news of Ailred's death reached Swineshead, he was preparing one of his sermons upon the Song of Songs. He had reached the words, "I have gathered my myrrh with my spice: I have eaten my honeycomb with my honey" (v. 1). The abbot meditated upon the abundant nature of his friend. What a rich honeycomb had been taken from the world! And he slipped into his discourse a little sketch of Ailred.

III.

Ailred.

The Abbot of Swineshead thought of Ailred as a man of serene and modest spirit, equable and unworried, alert in mind, deliberate in speech. He had often watched him in conversation and remembered how patiently he suffered interruption. Ailred would stop until the speaker had emptied his soul and the torrent of words was over, then quietly resume what he had been saying. A similar impression of tranquillity and forbearance is given in the portrait drawn forty years later, by Jocelin of Furness in his life of St. Waldef:—

> "He was a man of fine old English stock (*ex ueterum Anglorum illustri stirpe procreatus*). He left school early and was brought up from boyhood in the Court of King David with Henry the king's son and Waldef. In course of time he became first a monk, afterwards Abbot of Rievaulx. His school learning was slight, but as a result of careful self-discipline in the exercise of his acute natural powers, he was cultured above many who have been thoroughly trained in secular learning. He drilled himself in the study of Holy Scripture and left a lasting memorial behind him in writings distinguished by their lucid style, and wealth of edifying instruction, for he was wholly inspired by a spirit of wisdom and understanding. Moreover, he was a man of the highest integrity, of great practical wisdom, witty and eloquent, a

[1] Mabillon, *Opera S. Bernardi*, II., col. 140, in Gilbert's forty-first sermon on the Canticles. Gilbert began his work on the Canticles when St. Bernard had left off.

pleasant companion, generous and discreet. And, with all these qualities, he exceeded all his fellow prelates of the Church in his patience and tenderness. He was full of sympathy for the infirmities, both physical and moral, of others."[1]

Rather later than Jocelin of Furness, Nicholas of Rievaulx wrote of Ailred in his metrical eulogy of the Abbots of Rievaulx. Ailred was comparable to St. Benedict, St. Maur, St. Bernard :—

Maurus erat maturis moribus et Benedictus
Exemplo : similis Bernardo, coelibe vita.[2]

But with Nicholas we already reach the indiscriminate region of legend.

Gilbert of Hoiland and Jocelin of Furness give the salient traits of Ailred's character more clearly than Walter Daniel does. The personality of the abbot is somewhat obscured by Walter's fanciful and exuberant style. Walter's work none the less is the best account which we have of the early history of the Cistercian movement in the north of England, and with the help of Ailred's own writings and of contemporary letters, charters and chronicles, we can get from it an intimate impression of the abbot's life and surroundings.[3]

He died, says Walter, on 12 January, 1166, that is, in the new style, 1167.[4] As he was then in his fifty-seventh year he was

[1] Vita S. Waldeni in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 257 d, e. Jocelin wrote the life *c.* 1210-1214.

[2] Nicholas wrote early in the reign of Henry III. His verses on the Abbots of Rievaulx, which contain several bad chronological errors, are extant in a manuscript which formerly belonged to the priory of St. Victor (MS. 1030) and is now MS. Lat. 15157 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Extracts were first printed from this by John Picard of Beauvais, Canon of St. Victor, in his edition of William of Newburgh's Chronicle (Paris, 1610), pp. 681-683. They were reprinted by Hearne, in his edition (III., 643). The same St. Victor MS. contains five letters of Nicholas (f. 85v). M. Bémont kindly informs me that one letter is addressed to Prior W. of Byland and four to N. of Beverley.

[3] There is an excellent life of Ailred, under the name Ethelred, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, written by Dr. W. Hunt. In this paper I shall deal more particularly with the significance of certain aspects of Ailred's life and character.

[4] Vita Ailredi, f. 73 c. He died about the fourth watch of the night of the day before the Ides of January, 1166. This would be the day which

born about 1110. Walter tells us nothing of his parentage or birthplace, but on these matters we have sufficient information from Ailred's work on the saints of Hexham and from the Hexham chroniclers. His family was well-to-do, well connected, and prominent in the neighbourhood of Durham and Hexham. This strict Cistercian came of a long line of married priests, learned, respectable, conscientious.[1] If there were many such families in Northumbria, it is easy to understand why the movement for a celibate clergy made such slow progress in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ailred's father, Eilaf, son of Eilaf, lived in the period of transition. He was the last of the priests—we may almost say hereditary priests—of Hexham. His position in Tynedale had been a strong one. He had lands and good connections. His father had been treasurer of Durham; the local Archdeacon William, was his kinsman;[2] and his influence among the English gentry of Northumbria, north and south of the border, was sufficient to secure the favour of the King of the Scots, who frequently held his court across the hills at Roxburgh. But he could not stem the new movements from the south. In his boyhood he had seen the southern monks of Winchcomb and Evesham pass from Jarrow to Durham and had watched the building of the great church and monastery by Bishop William of St. Carileph. He had seen monks from St. Albans come to Tynemouth, where the bones of St. Oswiu were. The turn of Hexham, long threatened, came in 1113, when the lord of the regality, Thomas II., Archbishop of York, sent Austin canons to restore Wilfrid's foundation and guard the bones of Saints Acca, Eata, and Alchmund. Eilaf was strong enough to force a compromise. He retained a life interest as priest of Hexham with the

began at compline on the 11th, and the fourth watch would be in the early hours of the 12th. The Cistercian calendar begins with January, but the Cistercians are believed to have helped to spread the custom of beginning the year on 25 March, according to the Florentine use.

[1] James Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* (Surtee's Society 1864), Vol. I., pp. l-lxvii. A. B. Hinds, in the *History of Northumberland*, Vol. III., Hexhamshire, Part I, 119 ff. (Newcastle, 1896).

[2] Vita Ailredi, f. 61 d. This William son of Thole (Toli?) is doubtless William the Archdeacon named Havegrim, who was present at the translation of St. Cuthbert in 1104: Reginald of Durham *De admirandis Beati Cuthberti uirtutibus*, p. 84 (Surtees Society, 1835). Havegrim is doubtless a misreading of Haregrim (or Arnegrim), for which name see *V.C.H. Yorkshire*, II., 185.

enjoyment of certain revenues. Yet if a story told by Walter Daniel has any basis of truth, he felt very sore. A few months after the canons came to Hexham Archbishop Thomas died at Beverley (29 Feb., 1114). Ailred, then four or five years old, ran home and announced the news. A laugh went round the family and Eilaf replied to the child with polite gravity: "True, an evil liver has indeed died" (*uere ille obiit qui male uiuit*). Ailred's prophesy was confirmed on the third day, when the news had had time to travel north from Beverley.[1]

In course of time Eilaf was fully reconciled to the new order. When in 1138 he felt the approach of death, he restored to Hexham all the lands of which he had had the usufruct, and was received by the Benedictines of Durham into their society.[2] Ailred was already a monk of Rievaulx; a daughter of Eilaf became a nun and there is evidence that other members of the family entered the religious life.[3] But his early associations left an ineffacable impression upon Ailred. Their influence explains his significance in the history of northern England in the reign of Stephen and Henry II.

If a spirit of simplicity and lowliness of heart were always sufficient to bring peace, the Cistercian missionaries whom St. Bernard sent from Clairvaux to England could have been only a reconciling element in the conflict between the new and the old ways of life. William, first Abbot of Rievaulx, who at one time had been Bernard's secretary, seems to have found favour everywhere. But, as is well known, the Cistercians inevitably brought discord. They were reformers. They drew the more ardent religious from the older Benedictine houses of St. Mary at York and St. Cuthbert at Durham. They caused division in the houses of canons regular. They set themselves in the church at large against a married clergy, and any suspicion of simony

[1] Vita Ailredi, f. 62 a. Walter Daniel gives no names and the attribution of prophetic powers or second sight to saints was general; but if the story is based on any incident in Ailred's childhood, it could only refer to Thomas II.

[2] Richard of Hexham's history of the church of Hexham in Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 55-56.

[3] Walter Daniel describes the subcellarer of Revesby (*c.* 1145), as "proximus uidelicet ei (Ailred) secundum carnem" (Vita, f. 68 c). Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, for whom Ailred wrote the life of the Confessor, was his relative ("cognatus"), f. 70 c.

or subjection to temporal influence. It was William of Rievaulx who took the lead in the agitation against the recognition by the pope of King Stephen's kinsman, William—later canonised—as archbishop of York in succession to Archbishop Thurstan ; and it was a Cistercian, the Abbot of Fountains, who in 1147 was finally set up as archbishop in William's stead. How closely the opposition to Archbishop William was associated with the Cistercians was shown by the action of the Prior of Hexham, who, when he heard of William's election forsook his priory, and went overseas to join the community at Clairvaux under St. Bernard.[1] Now Ailred, whose most intimate memories were of the old Northumbrian order at Hexham and of the Benedictines of Durham, gave himself body and soul to the Cistercian rule. He spread its use in new foundations, and interpreted it in his writings. He denounced elaborate musical services and the extravagances of sculpture or wall painting with all the zest of St. Bernard.[2] Yet he did not turn his back upon the past. He was no partisan. He had found the way of life which satisfied him, and could take his place in the strangely mingled society of the north the more confidently because he was sure of himself. Walter Daniel, writing as a hagiographer, entirely fails to describe the many-sidedness of Ailred's interests and activities. From Rievaulx Ailred exercised an influence which was the measure, not so much of his intensity or enthusiasm, as of his wide sympathies. Like all good Cistercians, he loved to preach about the Blessed Virgin or the ancient rule of St. Benedict, but his favourite saint was St. Cuthbert—the great patron saint of Durham and of all Northumbria, upon whom his father Eilaf had called in times of distress. While he journeyed to the general chapter at Citeaux or visited the daughter houses of Rievaulx in Scotland, he put himself under the protection of St. Cuthbert.[3] His memory was stored

[1] John of Hexham in Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 139 with Raine's note. Ailred, in his work on the saints of Hexham (*ibid.*, p. 193) attributes Robert Biset's resignation to his inaptitude for administrative work. The resignation was much criticized.

[2] *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. i., cc. 23, 24, in Migne, P.L., CXCV., coll. 571-572.

[3] Reginald of Durham, pp. 176-177, for the "prosa rithmico modalumine in Beati Cuthberti honore componenda" by Ailred on his journey to and from Citeaux; pp. 178-179, incidents at Kirkcudbright on St. Cuthbert's day 20 March, 1164-1165.

with tales of the miracles of the saint. The book about St. Cuthbert, written by Reginald of Durham, was inspired by Ailred, and was based upon Ailred's talk.[1] Ailred loved Durham, where St. Cuthbert's bones lay in William of St. Carileph's noble church, and where his father had died as a monk. When a dispute arose about the seat of the prior—one of those disputes on matters of precedence which, as they have a symbolic significance, are always so hard to settle—Ailred was brought in to preside over the board of arbitrators who settled it.[2] When he visited Godric of Finchale—that famous hermit who had been to Rome and Compostella and Jerusalem and loved to read St. Jerome—he had a young man of Durham with him.[3]

Just as the Benedictines adopted St. Cuthbert, the Austin Canons adopted the Saints of Hexham. In March, 1154, they celebrated the solemn translation of their relics. It is probable that Ailred was present and spoke as a sermon or address part of the work on the *Saints of Hexham* which he wrote for the occasion. His tract is a skilful and attractive bit of writing. Ailred recalled his old connection with Hexham : " This is my festival, for I lived under the protection of the saints in these hallowed places ". He described the work of St. Wilfrid, and did not shirk a reference to the pictures with which Wilfrid had adorned his church at Hexham for the edification of the people. He dwelt upon the zeal of his grandfather—though more sinful than he should have been he was unwearied in his care of the churches of Christ—and claims for his father rather more than his share in the new foundation at Hexham of the Augustinian priory. The canons must have felt that Ailred had performed a difficult task with much tact.[4]

We have seen how the Abbot of Rievaulx retained his veneration for St. Cuthbert and the Saints of Hexham, and through them formed ties with the monks of Durham and the canons whose coming had

[1] Reginald of Durham, pp. 4, 32. This work is dedicated to Ailred, but in its present form dates from the period after Ailred's death; *cf.* p. 254, reference to events of 1172.

[2] Greenwell, *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, p. lxi. (Surtees Society, 1872).

[3] Reginald of Durham, *De vita et miraculis S. Godrici heremitae de Finchale*, pp. 176-7 (Surtees Society, 1847).

[4] Ailred's work is well edited by Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 173-203. For the allusions to the text see pp. 174, 175, 191, 192.

disturbed his childhood. But why did he write the life of St. Edward the Confessor? He venerated St. Cuthbert as a Northumbrian. He commemorated St. Edward as an Englishman. And he had realized that he was an Englishman at the court of King David of Scotland. This aspect of Ailred's personality deserves some attention.

Walter Daniel deals at some length, though with his usual provoking vagueness, with Ailred's life at the court of King David. From other sources we simply know that Ailred was brought up by David and had as his companions the King's son, Henry, and his step-son Waldef or Waltheof. We do not know how Ailred was recommended to David. The close connection between Durham and the Church in Scotland would provide a man of Eilaf's influence with frequent opportunities of bringing his son to the King's notice.[1] Nor do we know how old Ailred was, nor how long he stayed with David, nor the precise position which he came to hold at court. His name appears as witness in no surviving charter.[2] Walter Daniel affirms that, in spite of opposition and foul calumny, Ailred won increasing favour and affection from David, and would in due course have attained the highest ecclesiastical office in the Kingdom—presumably the bishopric of St. Andrews. If the title and functions ascribed to him by Walter can be taken literally, he was David's steward or seneschal; for Walter calls him *economus*, and says that he served in the *triclinium* or hall, and had a share in the disposal of the royal treasure.[3] At this time he was probably still a layman,

[1] Turgot, first Bishop of St. Andrews (1107-1115), had been Prior of Durham, and the church had lands in the lowlands, especially at Coldingham, north of Berwick. But communication of all kinds must have been frequent, and apart from his relations with Durham, Eilaf was well connected in Northumbria. Later in the century, a grand-daughter of his, *i.e.* Ailred's niece, married Robert FitzPhilip, a land-holder in Lothian (Reg. of Durham, *De admirandis*, etc., p. 188).

[2] Earl David succeeded to the throne in April, 1124, when Ailred was about fourteen years of age. Ailred entered Rievaulx shortly after its foundation in 1132—probably about 1134, when still quite young (*adolescens*). A charter of King David (*c.* 1128) is attested by Ailred's companion "Waldef, filio Regine" (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 1905, p. 69, No. 83).

[3] Vita Ailredi, f. 64 a; *cf.* 64 c, "regales dispensare diuitias". The author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, l. ii., c. 19 (Oxford edition, 1902, p. 151) defines *economus* as seneschal. The *tricorum*, *tricorium*, or *triclinium* was defined by Aelfric as *gereord-hus*, and appears in twelfth century literature, *e.g.*, Orderic Vitalis, in the sense of a refectory (see

or a clerk in lower orders. Ailred was wont to say playfully that he came to Rievaulx from the kitchen, not from the schools.[1]

However this may be, Ailred was much trusted by the King, and in his turn felt for his patron an admiration and affection which were never lost. The note of personal regard is a strong one even in his description of the Battle of the Standard, the conflict in which David was opposed by the barons of Yorkshire with Walter Espec, the founder of Rievaulx, at their head. In his later work on the genealogy of the kings of England (1153-4) Ailred speaks with unaffected enthusiasm of this second David to whom he owed so much. And we find in these historical writings—which are the political counterpart of his life of Edward the Confessor—a reflection of the political ideas which prevailed in the Scottish court, and were held by many Englishmen between the Humber and the Forth. They are easily summarized: The Scottish Kings were the true successors of the English Kings. The Normans certainly had the highest of all sanctions; they had set aside the usurper Harold and conquered England by Divine favour; but the line of the Conqueror had greatly strengthened its claim to the allegiance of Englishmen by its union with the West Saxon house, of which David was the chief representative. There was no difference in culture, race or nationality between the people who inhabited the Old Northumbria; when a Scottish King invaded the lands of the King of England he was engaging in a domestic quarrel, about the rights of which even men who lived south of the Tweed might freely differ. What the subjects and vassals of the English King did resent and fiercely resist was the presence of barbarians, of Picts and Galloway men, side by side with the feudal host of Scotland. For Englishmen and Normans, learning as they were to speak each other's language,[2] were united, whether they

Ducange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *triconus*). As seneschal or steward Ailred would also be *discthequ*, and so could describe himself as connected with the kitchen. In England the steward only gradually acquired large administrative power (Vernon-Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward* (1907). *Cf.* the remarks in Round, *The King's Sergeants* (1911) p. 69; and Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, I., 205 and *passim*), but in the less elaborate household of David, he would approach in dignity the baronial steward. Ailred was clearly not connected with the chancery.

[1] P.L., CXCV., col. 502.

[2] St. Waldef spoke fluently in French and English (Jocelin of Furness in *Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 260 c.); Gaimer, in Lincolnshire, used

looked to David or to Stephen as their lord, in the task of adapting the old order to the new. The definition of services and tenures in feudal terms, the encouragement of foreign fashions in art and letters, the organization of bishoprics, the foundation of monasteries, the subjection of social life to ecclesiastical discipline, were proceeding as actively in the south of Scotland as in Yorkshire. There was nothing insular or parochial in the attitude of Englishmen like Ailred. The men of the north were conscious not of subjection to the foreigner, but of new opportunities now open to them, recalling the opportunities which had been opened to Wilfrid and Bede and Alcuin. Indeed, the more conscious they were of their past, the more confidently could they join in the welcome to new ideas and new enterprises. Their traditions were living traditions, part of their being, yet not alien to the new age. Ailred, in his description of the Battle of the Standard, enters into the minds of the Norman barons who rallied round Archbishop Thurstan, and puts into the mouth of Walter Espec a speech on Norman history with its record of splendid deeds in Sicily and Apulia and Calabria. When Henry of Anjou became King of England, Ailred welcomed him as reconciling in his person English and foreign traditions. He was the first King since the Conquest who could claim to be descended from Alfred. He had received knighthood at the hands of Ailred's hero King David. He had been merciful and magnanimous during the recent wars. The canonization of the Confessor a few years later, and the translation of his body to the new shrine in the Abbey of Westminster were symbols of the final union of England with the society of western Christendom.

The historical work in which Ailred reveals his attitude to political questions was written in the later years of his life. Henry II. was on the throne and the English border had again—and definitely—been pushed northwards to the Tweed and the Solway. There is indeed little evidence that Ailred, after he left the service of King David, had any share in the turbulent events of Stephen's reign, when David held court at Carlisle and the Scottish border reached as far south as the

English books while he was writing his Norman-French poem, "Lestorie des Engles" (Rolls Series, I., 276, l. 6443). A dumb boy who was cured at the shrine of St. John of Beverley, was put to school by his father, and learned to speak French and English (Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, I., 312). All these instances come from the middle of the twelfth century.

cross on Stainmore, and Ailred's old companion Earl Henry ruled in Northumberland and a Scottish vassal was obtruded into the see of Durham. His last service to David seems to have been his last appearance as a politician. He was sent on the King's business to Archbishop Thurstan of York.[1] For many years the claim of the archbishop to be metropolitan of the Scottish bishoprics had met with opposition, especially from John, Bishop of Glasgow. In spite of papal injunctions the bishop was still disobedient in 1135-6.[2] It was doubtless on some errand arising out of this dispute that Ailred about 1134 made the journey from which he did not return. On his way home he entered the Abbey of Rievaulx. As a disciple of St. Bernard he could have had neither the time nor the inclination for secular interests. His next important mission was concerned with a great controversy which the Cistercians of Yorkshire regarded as of moral rather than legal significance. In 1140 Archbishop Thurstan died and a majority of the canons of York elected William, their treasurer, a nephew of King Stephen. The circumstances were suspicious[3] and a protest was made by the minority, on the ground that money had passed. The most important ecclesiastical office in the north was tainted by the sin of simony. The Abbot of Rievaulx, the Abbot of Fountains, the Prior of Kirkham (who was Ailred's friend Waldef) and others took the lead in appealing to the pope (1141.) The case dragged on for several years, and it was not until 1143 that the Abbot of Rievaulx and his companions pleaded their case in person

[1] Vita Ailredi, f. 65 b.

[2] Letters from Innocent II. from Pisa, April 22, 1136, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III., 66-67 (Rolls Series, 1894).

[3] John of Hexham in Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I., 133, 139, 142, etc. It has not, I think, been noticed that a story in Jocelin's *Life of St. Waldef* throws light on the attitude of the opponents of William. Waldef, then Prior of Kirkham, would have been elected to succeed Thurstan, but Stephen interposed his veto on the ground that, as son of the Queen of Scotland and step-son of King David, Waldef would probably support the interests of David, who was the chief supporter in the north of the Empress Matilda. Jocelin adds that William of Aumâle (the new Earl of Yorkshire and a leader of Stephen's party) offered to procure the archbishopric for Waldef if the latter would enfeof him with the archiepiscopal lands in Shirburn (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 256 c, d). Waldef indignantly refused. This incident would naturally bring into suspicion the earl's subsequent efforts on behalf of Stephen's nephew.

at Rome; in the earlier proceedings of 1141, which stayed the consecration of the new archbishop, they were represented by less important people.[1] On this occasion Abbot William chose Ailred as his proctor. William had soon realized the ability of the new recruit. He employed him frequently on the business of the convent, and on his return from Rome made him master of the novices.[2] In 1142 he was put at the head of the colony of monks sent from Rievaulx to form the monastery of St. Lawrence at Revesby, founded by William of Roumare, Earl of Lincoln. Thus at the age of thirty-two, he became an abbot. For the next twenty-five years, first at Revesby, then from 1147 at Rievaulx,[3] his energies, thwarted increasingly by bodily pain, were absorbed in the work of his order, in business, administration, preaching, arbitration, travelling and all the arduous routine of his office.

Yet as the years passed, this intensely human monk, with his keen insight into the bearing of the varied problems in the life about him, seems to have found increasing satisfaction in his memories of youth, of the places where he had once lived, and of the friendships which were, he felt, the most precious thing this world had given him. He wrote of his monastic friendships in his *De Spirituali Amicitia*. He wrote of King David and the young Earl Henry in the tribute to David's memory which he dedicated to Henry of Anjou. In his well-known work, the description of the Battle of the Standard in 1138, he merged his own memories and feelings in the impartial exposition of a dramatic theme. As a piece of historical writing its value is due to the understanding of events rather than to the accuracy of the narrative. Ailred of course must have retained vivid recollections of the year 1138. Two or three years earlier he had been a royal official in King David's hall, and now, a few miles from Rievaulx, David had fought and lost a battle against his new friends and neighbours. He would remember that this was the year of his father's death in the monastery at Durham, shortly after Abbot William and

[1] Headed by William of London, one of the archdeacons who had opposed the election of William (John of Hexham, p. 140). That Ailred was sent to Rome in connection with the disputed election is stated by Walter Daniel (f. 67 c). As he went to Revesby in 1142, his mission must be dated 1141.

[2] Vita, f. 67 b-67 d.

[3] For the dates see the chronological table at the end of this paper.

he had witnessed Eilaf's last settlement with the canons of Hexham. Ailred had probably gone north with Abbot William to arrange the surrender of Lord Walter Espec's castle of Wark on the Tweed to King David.[1] For in spite of the victory near Northallerton Walter Espec and the Yorkshire barons had not been able to prevent the transfer of Cumberland and Northumberland to David. Ailred, indeed, could not regard the war as an uncompromising conflict between England and Scotland, and still less between Englishmen and Scots. It was a war between kinsmen. David's mother, Saint Margaret, was the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, and but for the verdict of God at Hastings, David would have been the claimant of the legitimist party to the English throne.[2] His sister had been the Queen of Henry I., his niece was wife of Stephen, his wife was the daughter of Waltheof, the great Earl of Northumberland. If he thought it wise to invade England on behalf of his other niece, the ex-Empress Matilda, and to try to resume Scottish possession of the northern shires, he could hardly

[1] Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley, was also Lord of Wark or Carham. The place was besieged frequently during the campaigns 1135-8 and only consented to surrender in 1138 on the direct instructions of Walter. For Abbot William's mission see Richard of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 100 and John of Hexham, p. 118. That Ailred was with the abbot is probable from the fact that both of them were present when Eilaf surrendered his lands to Hexham (Richard of Hexham, p. 55). They reached Wark at Martinmas (Nov. 11). Like other barons, Walter Espec doubtless continued to hold his land, but as a vassal of David who carefully observed all the customs of Northumberland (Richard of Hexham, pp. 104, 105). The King and Walter were of course not unknown to each other. About 1132, the year of the foundation of Rievaulx, Walter Espec attested a charter of David in favour of the Priory of the Holy Trinity in London (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. 98, p. 78).

[2] See Ailred's work on the genealogy of the English Kings, with the introductory letters to Henry of Anjou, then Duke of Normandy (*Decem Scriptores*, pp. 347 ff.) The claim is put still more clearly by Jocelin of Furness in the dedication of his life of St. Waldef to King William of Scotland (*c.* 1210): Jocelin, with reference to William's descent through St. Margaret from Edmund Ironside, is speaking of Edward the Atheling, son of Edmund and father of Margaret—"legitimus heres sanctissimi confessoris Edwardi regis Angliae, jure hereditario Anglici regni per lineas rectas et directas successiuae generationis in uos deuoluto, uos sceptrigeros effecisset, nisi Normannorum uiolenta direptio, Deo permittente, usque ad tempus praefinitum praepedisset" (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, I., 248 d, e.). See also the interesting passage in William of Newburgh, in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., I., 105-106.

be blamed, though it was doubtless the duty of King Stephen's vassals to resist him. In Ailred's memory the battle of the standard was an unhappy conflict of allegiances—for the Bruces and Balliols and other North-country barons had extensive lands in David's dominions—and incidentally a revival of that age-long racial struggle of Celt and Teuton. King David relied largely on the Picts of Galloway, at this time full of savage exultation after their recent victory at Clitheroe ; and no foe was both so dreaded and so despised by Normans and English alike as the men of Galloway. When the battle was won and the barons had wiped out the shame of Clitheroe, the way to peace was open. David was willing to accept a compromise which Robert Bruce and Bernard of Balliol had vainly tried to effect before the fight. King Stephen was easily prevailed upon by the counsel of the papal legate and the prayers of his wife to grant it. Northumberland and Cumberland were ceded, and King David ruled at Carlisle.[1]

The tone of detachment with which Ailred describes the Battle of the Standard gives way, in his other historical writings, to a mood of quiet triumph. The old unnatural embarrassments had been removed by King Henry II., the son of Matilda, the grand-nephew of David. In a letter which he prefixed to his book on the *Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor*, Ailred greets Henry as the corner-stone which bound together the two walls of the English and the Norman race.[2] For Ailred the solemn translation of the body of the Confessor in October, 1163, must have been one of the happiest events in his life. Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, who was his kinsman, and a Durham man,[3] had asked Ailred to prepare for the occasion a new life of the

[1] See for all this, in addition to Ailred's tract, the Hexham chroniclers. Ailred's work is in the *Decem Scriptores* and is re-edited by Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc. (Rolls Series), III., 179-199. A good summary will be found in Maxwell, *The Early Chronicles Relating to Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), pp. 147-153.

[2] *Decem Scriptores*, p. 370: "lapidem angularem Anglici generis et Normannici gaudemus duos parietes conuenisse".

[3] He was the Master Laurence who, from the account given by Reginald of Durham, would seem to have represented the citizens of Durham at the election of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, 9 June, 1153. He was then in secular orders. On the way to Rome, where the election, quashed by the Archbishop of York, was to be examined, Laurence left his companions and entered the monastery of St. Albans (Reginald of Durham, *De Vita et miraculis S. Godrici*, pp. 232-233; John of Hexham, pp. 167-168). Walter Daniel calls him Ailred's cognatus, Vita Ailredi, f. 70 c.

Confessor. Ailred had taken the work of Osbern of Clare, and revised it in the light of official papal letters and of chronicles and such trustworthy information as had come to him by hearsay. He also prepared a homily—which he probably preached in the abbey—on the words *Nemo accendit lucernam.*[1]

His ecclesiastical sympathies also were deeply engaged. Since 1159 the Church had been rent by schism. Ailred had never hesitated between Pope Alexander and the schismatic cardinals. If, as was clearly evident, the Church was still a living power, then the power must reside in the majority.[2] But there had been some very anxious days before King Louis of France and King Henry the Lord of England, Normandy and Aquitaine, decided to acknowledge and support Alexander. Henry is said to have been persuaded by two men; Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, and Ailred of Rievaulx.[3] One of the first acts of the Pope after he was recognized by King Henry, was the canonization of Edward the Confessor. The great ceremony two years later, when the body of the saint was laid in the new shrine at Westminster, symbolized religious peace in the West of Europe as well as the union of Englishman and Norman.

Peace did not last long. The prelate who presided over the translation of St. Edward was the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket. His contest with the King had already begun and was soon to be obvious to all men. Ailred must have known all about it, but his letters are lost and we do not know what he thought. Some of these lost letters, especially those which he wrote to the

[1] Vita Ailredi, 70 c; *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* (ed. Giles, 1845), p. 98.

[2] See the interesting passage in the twenty-fourth sermon "De Oneribus Esaie" in Migne, P.L., CXCV., coll. 460 c-461a. The Cardinal Octavian was elected by two cardinals only, the Cardinal Roland (Alexander III.) by five cardinal bishops and fifteen or more cardinal priests and deacons. The "uis apostolicae dignitatis" must reside in the latter: "Certe ecclesia Romana non perdit; certe, ceteris reprobatis, ut in illis tribus remanserit, nulla ratio, nullus sensus humanus admittit".

[3] *Chron. Petriburgense*, p. 98. This late chronicle is of no great value, but its numerous allusions to Ailred clearly came from some good source. Where they can be checked they are reliable. Henry II. acknowledged Alexander at a great council held at Neufmarché in July, 1160. He and King Louis met him at Chouzy in September, 1162; see Robert of Torigny in Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., IV., 207, 215.

King's justiciar, Robert, Earl of Leicester,[1] who attempted the ungrateful task of mediator, might make very interesting reading. I imagine that the sympathies of Ailred—Cistercian though he was—lay with King Henry rather than with the archbishop. His was a peace-loving equable nature, guided by strong common sense. There were capricious, theatrical, extravagant traits in the archbishop's conduct which could not but repel him.[2] Peace was restored in England, why disturb it? If these were his feelings, he was fortunate in the time of his death, before his faith in King Henry could be shaken by the deed which turned Becket into St. Thomas of Canterbury, and gave him a place even above St. Cuthbert and St. Edward the Confessor in the hearts of Englishmen.

[1] Vita Ailredi, f. 70 c.

[2] Two facts may be noted which tend to confirm this view. Ailred was a friend of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, the austere high churchman who had opposed Becket's election and steadily refused to support him against Henry. Some time after April, 1163, when Gilbert became Bishop of London, Ailred dedicated to him his sermons on Isaiah (P.L., CXCV., 561). Again, the archbishop had already asked for the prayers, not of Ailred, but of Maurice of Rievaulx. Maurice's reply, which I have printed elsewhere from Balliol MS. No. 65, betrays some uneasiness about the wisdom of Becket's election; see *English Hist. Rev.*, 1921, XXXV., 22, 26-29.

(*To be continued*).

THE FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE:

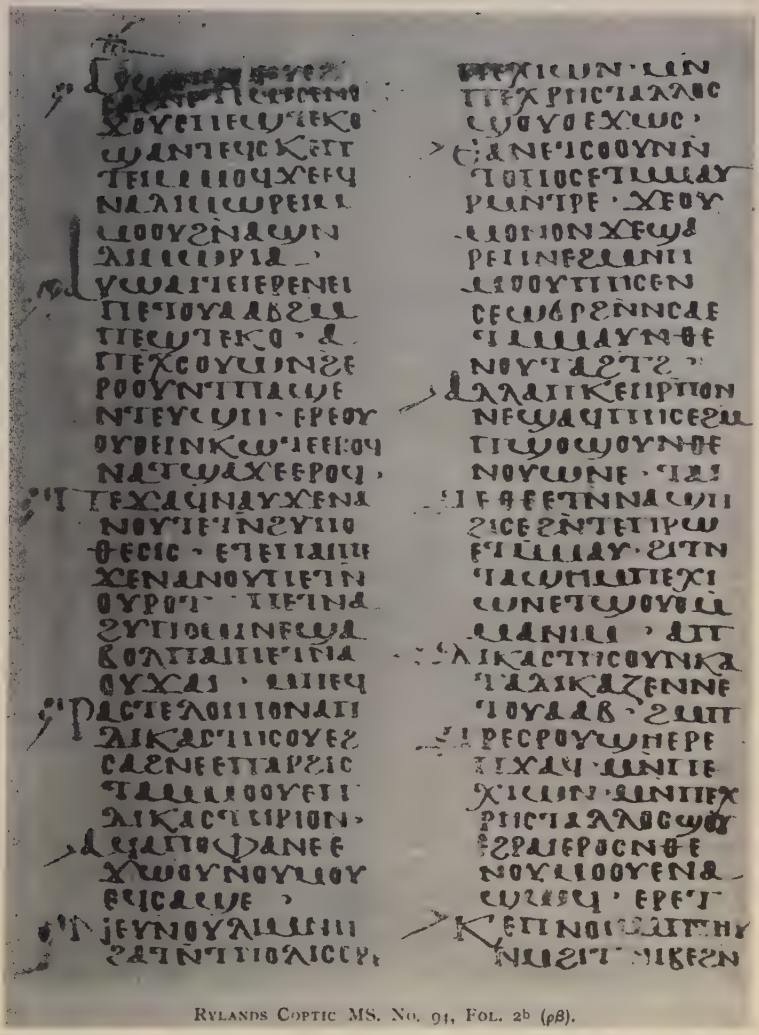
A STUDY OF HAGIOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT.

By The Rev. D. P. Buckle, M.A.

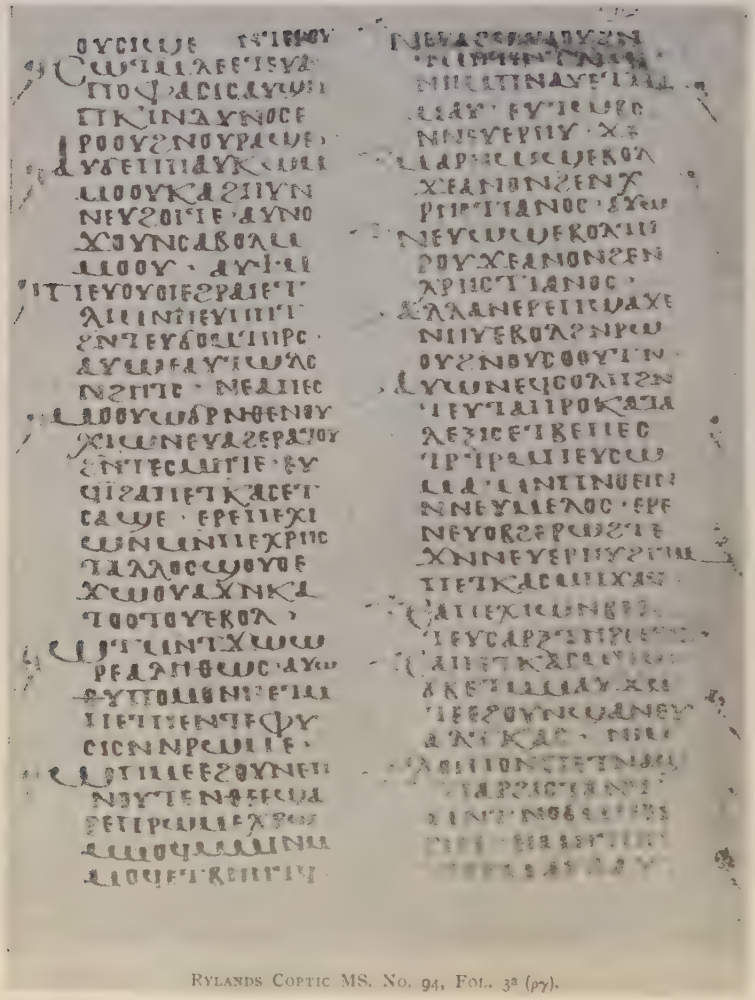
IN a previous No. of the Bulletin (vol. 5, Nos. 3-4, April-Nov., 1919, p. 219) Professor Tout gave an interesting account of John Mabillon's criticism of Daniel Van Papenbroeck, one of the earliest continuators of the work of Bollandus, and described the pleasing conclusion of the story by relating the Flemish doubter's conversion to the sound judgment of his French critic's better scholarship. The present paper will show, however, that if in that case Papenbroeck was too rash in his charges of the falsification of documents in cartularies he was sometimes at any rate too ready to accept the worst evidence as the best, and to set up "re-made and confected documents" (in Prof. Tout's language) as greater authorities than earlier, simpler, and more probable histories.

His account of the story of the forty martyrs of Sebaste illustrates this uncritical attitude. It is contained in the Bollandist "Acta Sanctorum," Martii, tom. 2, the contents of which are expressly stated to be "a Godefrido Henschenio et Daniele Papebrochio Aucta digesta et illustrata". We there find that the Latin "Acta" are regarded as the older; yet though in the case of the translation of Evodius by John the Deacon of Naples there is an attempt to fix the date, the editors do not give the slightest information about the original provenance or time of writing of the long narratives which they place first.

The great point of difference in the stories is the particular form of punishment, *genus supplicii*, by which the saints were martyred. The Bollandist editors avowedly follow the accounts which represent the martyrs as having been immersed in the waters of the lake of Sebaste on a cold winter night and therein frozen to death, then taken out to be broken and burned. They add that the ashes were thrown into the river, where they were miraculously kept together in one place,

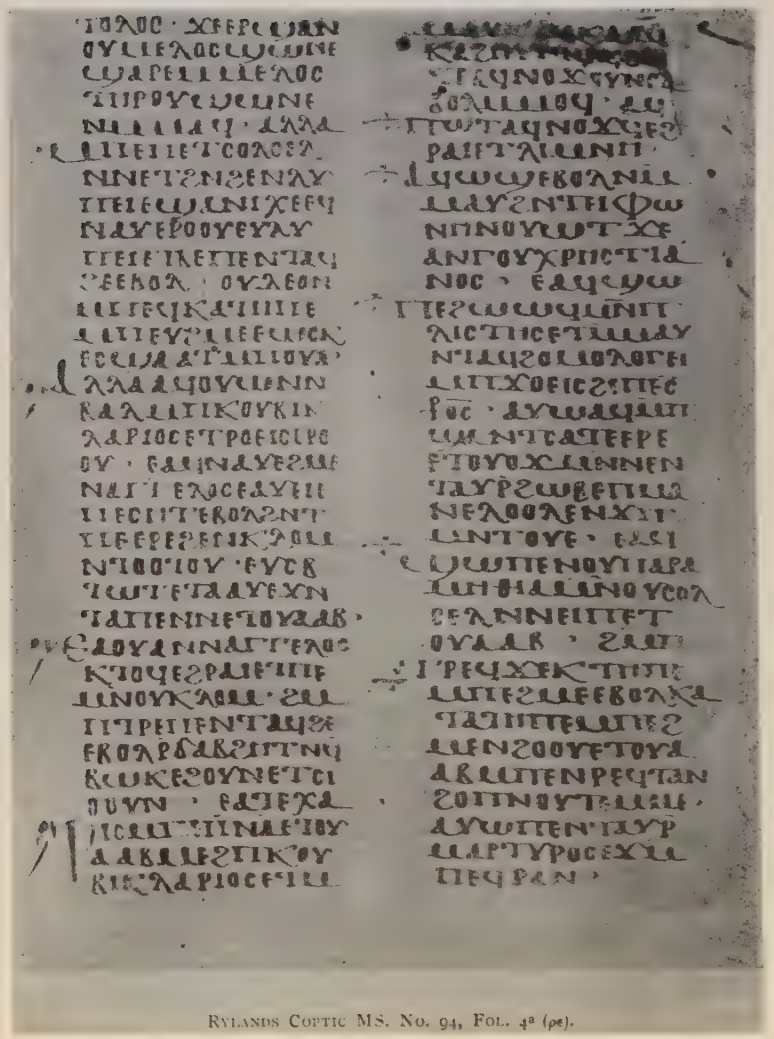


Rylands Coptic MS. No. 91, Fol. 2b (ρβ).



Rylands Coptic MS. No. 94, Fol. 3a (ργ).

Rylands Coptic MS. No. 94, Fol. 3b (p8).



Rylands Coptic MS. No. 94, Fol. 4ª (ρε).

whence they were rescued by Bishop Peter, who was directed to do so by a supernatural revelation and guided by extraordinary lights. The editors give all these details about the martyrdom and many others about preliminary trials and imprisonments, appearances of the Saviour and of the Devil, which have no support in the earliest and best authorities such as Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gaudentius.

This particular volume of the "Acta Sanctorum" was published at Antwerp in 1668, three years after the death of Bollandus. But within forty-five years from the publication of the texts and commentary of the Bollandists two critical works on the subject had not only appeared but also reached their second editions. This seems to show that a considerable number of readers took an interest in endeavours to treat the matters in question with a better sense of the value of evidence. Theodoric Ruinart (1657-1709) calls his work "Acta martyrum sincera et selecta". The John Rylands Library possesses a copy of the second edition published at Amsterdam in 1713. According to Delehaye, who is himself a Bollandist, it is well conceived but not up to modern requirements. Ruinart, who was the pupil co-worker and biographer of John Mabillon, says that the death of the martyrs was not due to immersion but to the bitter cold of the air and also that the "vulgata acta" have not the authority of Basil. He refers to Tillemont, who published the second edition of his fifth volume at Paris in 1702. Tillemont gives his own account of the martyrdom on pp. 518-527, and adds notes on various points on pp. 788-791. Now, whereas the Bollandist editors, who place great reliance upon Gerardus Vossius, assert that his arguments, and what they cite from "Martyrologies," "Menaea," and writers like Petrus de Natalibus and Mombritius, seem to prove the immersion of the martyrs in the waters of the lake, Tillemont is certain that they suffered martyrdom in the middle of the city. He also attacks the notion that they suffered on the lake, *supra stagnum*, which the Bollandist editors thought was intimated by the language of Basil.

It is therefore necessary to quote the exact words which Basil used. They will be found in the fifth chapter of his nineteenth homily. He there says: ἐκέλευσε πάντας γυμνωθέντας ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πηγνυμένους ἀποθανεῖν. After describing the effect of frost on the human body he adds: Τότε τοίνον αἴθριοι διανυκτερεύειν κατεδικάσθησαν, ὅτε λίμνη μὲν, πέρι ἦν ἡ πόλις κατώκισται, ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα διήθλον οἱ

ἅγιοι, οἷόν τι πεδίον ἱππήλατον ἦν, μεταποιήσαντος αὐτὴν τοῦ κρυστάλλου. καὶ ἠπειρωθεισθεῖσα τῷ κρύει, ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὲρ νῶτον πεζεύειν παρείχετο τοῖς περιοικοις· ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀέννααρέοντες, τῷ κρυστάλλῳ δεθέντες, τῶν ῥείθρων ἔστησαν.

It is obvious from this last quotation that the lake is mentioned not as the scene of the actual martyrdom, but for the purpose of giving a graphic picture of the keenness of the frost. The relative clause about the sufferings of the martyrs naturally explains πόλις and has no connection with λίμνη. It is joined to the wrong antecedent by Morcelli ("Kalendarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae," vol. 2, p. 68) who says that there was no need to describe the lake if the martyrdom took place elsewhere. But it is not necessary to limit the interpretation of Basil's striking description by such an argument. We find the same reference to the frozen lake as a proof of the severity of the cold in Gaudentius and Gregory of Nyssa. The books of these early writers are easily accessible in Migne's *Patrologia*, but the John Rylands Library is particularly fortunate in possessing among its treasures the enlarged versions of the story given by Petrus de Natalibus (Lyons, 1519), and in the exactly similar accounts (with slight differences of spelling) edited by Vincentius Bellovacensis (Strassburg, 1473) and Mombritius (Milan, 1480). These narratives only briefly refer to the first trial before Agricolaus the Prefect, and this is not even mentioned by Petrus de Natalibus, who simply says that he kept them in prison several days in expectation of the arrival of Lysias the Dux.

Here we see how the story began to grow. A further development appears in Lipomanus (Venice : Aldus, 1581), who relates the first trial at some length, describing in detail the flattery of the prefect and the firm refusal of the martyrs to save their lives by apostasy.

The subject of hagiographic texts was discussed by A. Dufourcq in his interesting book "Les Gesta Martyrum Romains" (Paris, 1900-1910). He divides editions into three classes, edifying, scientific, and definitive. His discussion of the question should be compared with that of H. Delahaye in "The Legends of the Saints" translated by Mrs. V. M. Crawford. Delahaye's classification of hagiographic texts is even more analytical than that of Dufourcq. He distinguishes six classes of texts and applies his system to Ruinart's "Acta Sincera". He is more drastic in his criticism than Dufourcq, and gives a useful account of the methods and moralities of hagiographers, and of ancient

ideas concerning history. The dearth of material caused supplementing, amplification, compilation, and adaptation. The hagiographer who was compelled to write by the order of a superior boldly took the only course open to him, and either made a generous use of development as practised in the schools or borrowed from other narratives.

Among the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library there is an Egyptian version of the story, which on the whole follows Basil's narrative very closely, making, however, a few additions. The nine leaves of which this fragment consists were divided into two parts, which Tattam, their original owner, apparently regarded as separate documents. In the Crawford volumes they are numbered 33 and 45. No. 33 has its first sheet both misplaced and reversed : it is entitled "Exhortations to Martyrdom," and the second "Acts of certain Martyrs". Mr. Crum in his useful catalogue has supplied a careful description of the manuscript reproducing the first sheet in its proper order of *recto* and *verso*, and printing a résumé of the remainder in English. The Coptic narrative shows a conflation of two accounts, death by frost and immersion in the water of the lake. A translation as literal as possible of the four pages, specially reproduced in facsimile to accompany this article, is now offered and should be compared with Basil's "Homily," and the narratives in the "Acta Sanctorum".

RYLANDS COPTIC MS. 94 [45].

(Page ρβ). And the order was to cast them into prison till he considered with what penalty he will punish them. And meanwhile when the saints were in the prison Christ appeared to them at midnight. An ineffable light surrounded Him. He said to them, Good is this purpose of yours, good is your resolve. He who shall endure to the end shall be saved. Moreover, in the morning the judge (δικαστής) ordered them to appear in the judgment-hall. He sentenced them to a bitter death.

There is a lake near the city, on which snow and hail were streaming down. They who know those districts testify that not only oil and water are wont to freeze and congeal in those regions, but wine also freezes in the bottle like a stone. So (will it be) with those who suffer in that winter through the deluge of snow falling everywhere. The judge therefore condemned the saints to spend one night, when the frost and hail and snow poured down like a torrent, while the blast of the north wind blew bitterly.

(ργ). But when they heard their sentence they accepted the danger gladly. They hastened, they stripped off their clothes, they cast them from them, they took their way to the lake, they ran with all their might and plunged into it. Its water froze like snow, as they stood in the midst of it and bore the bitter pain, while snow and hail fell on them without ceasing.

O the courage indeed, and patience, surpassing human nature. O the love towards God, when man takes it to himself for Him. They stood in the midst of the lake at that hour, exhorting one another, saying, Let us cry out that we are Christians, and they all cried out: We are Christians. But speech did not go out of their lips distinctly, and it was interrupted in their mouth in its utterance by the shivering of their bodies and the pain of their limbs, while their teeth chattered with the torture of the frost. The snow destroyed all their flesh. The pains of that frost penetrated even to their marrows.

Moreover, who can represent the greatness of that struggle but themselves alone? (ρδ) as knowing it by experience. So then how greatly increased the frost of that night. No man therefore can praise them according to their desert, as I said in the preface of this meagre discourse. This only will I say, When I merely mention their names I confess to you that I feel a joy and gladness leaping up in my soul towards them all, as the patriarch Severus said about the lights in the Church, Basil and Gregory, If you believe me, as often as I mention their names, my soul rejoices.

I must also tell you about the bath near the lake by which the enemies of truth thought to ensnare the saints, because their hearts did not waver at all, their whole thought was of God in heaven, while they were in the lake. When one of them recanted by the device of the devil, and left the lake and went into the bath and remained outside hope, outside hope indeed, grief seized them because he is their member according to the word of the apostle (ρε) if one member suffer, all the members suffer with him. But he who consoles those who are in troubles could not tolerate the sight of their grief for the renegade nor did he suffer the number of their forty to remain lacking one.

But he opened the eyes of the *cubiclarios*, who guarded them, when he saw forty angels coming down from heaven, with forty crowns in their hands, prepared to be placed on the heads of the saints.

When one of the angels returned to heaven with a crown after he who had fallen out had recanted and entered the bath, the grace of the holy spirit filled that *cubiclarios*, he stripped off his clothes, he cast them from him, he ran, he threw himself into the lake. He cried out with them in this one voice saying, I am a Christian. He became one with that thief, who confessed the Lord on the cross, and he is worthy of the full penny, with those who were called to labour in the vineyard at the eleventh hour. He became a comfort and a consolation to those saints, when he completed the number of the forty, according to the number of the forty holy days of our Life-giver the God of Truth, and he became a martyr for His name.

This literal translation shows that the Coptic writer accepted Basil's account of the severity of the frost, but gave other illustrations of its keenness. He follows, however, the other version of the method of martyrdom when he describes the saints as actually immersed in the water of the lake. Now it is remarkable that out of the eight chapters into which Garnier divides Basil's homily the Coptic MS. has distinct

similarities with seven. The 1st chapter in Basil is merely a general introduction and gives no particular information. The 2nd chapter refers to graphic descriptions and pictorial representations, and is therein followed by the Coptic text which transliterates Basil's expression ζωγραφεῖν. The Coptic narrative adds to Basil's story in his third chapter the statement that when the impious decree was published the saints went to the shrines of the standards, where there was a golden image of Christ in a niche in the eastern wall and made a covenant to be faithful unto death. This incident does not appear to occur in any other account. It would be interesting to know whether there is any other evidence of Christian soldiers having a shrine in camp at this early date.

That the Coptic story is comparatively early seems to be shown by an apparently liturgical reference. The actual MS. is assigned by Mr. Crum to the tenth or eleventh century. A *terminus a quo* for the time of composition is the quotation from Severus of Antioch (ob., 538). The words which will be found in the translation already given may perhaps refer to the joint use of the names of Basil and Gregory in the Liturgy. They are found together in Giorgi, "Fragmentum Ev. S. Jo." (Rome, 1789), who prints in the Appendix fragments of the Thebaic Liturgy before Dioscorus.

The 4th chapter of Basil's homily describes the flattery and bribes of the governor (ὁ κρατῶν). In the Coptic account the answer of the saints to the δικαστής, as he is there called, takes the form of a long denunciation of the sin of covetousness, extending over two pages and including six quotations from the Bible and one not identified. The 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Basil are practically identical with the four pages now before the reader of this BULLETIN, and do not disclose any noteworthy difference (omitting the question of immersion in the lake), except the appearance of the Saviour to the saints in prison, and the special name δυνάμεις given to the forty angels by Basil. The chief executioner whom Basil calls by the classical title ὁ δήμιος appears in Coptic as κουβικλαριος.

The occurrence of this curious word furnishes a convenient point of transition to a brief notice of the long Greek, Latin, Armenian, Syriac, and Old-Slavonic versions. It seems hardly likely that an exalted official like a chamberlain should have been chief of the executioners. The Coptic writer may possibly have had some knowledge

of the longer and most probably somewhat later Greek narratives, which gives the forms καπικλάριος and καπηκλάριος.. This is regarded by Sophocles in his Lexicon as a corruption of κλαβικουλάριος. The Latin "Acta" have *clavicularius*, and the Old-Slavonic of the "Suprasl Codex" (ed. Miklosich, Vienna, 1851) follows the Greek.

The longer Greek narratives will be found in the convenient editions of Gebhardt, "Acta Martyrum Selecta" (Leipzig, 1902), and in Abicht's text published in "Archiv für slavische Philogie," Vol. XVIII. (Berlin, 1896). Each of these editions has merits and defects of its own. Gebhardt divides the story into thirteen convenient chapters, which make the account easy to analyse, and facilitate reference, while Abicht's text is continuous and indicates the pages of the Paris MS. 520 which he follows, noting carefully passages where its imperfections have been restored. Gebhardt in his preface intimates that in addition to Abicht's Paris text he has used Cod. Ven. Gr. Zan., 359, and Cod. Vindob. Theol. X. His printed text does not, however, indicate which of these MSS. are responsible for the variants which he cites, nor does he supply any information about the MSS. themselves. He notes eighteen references to the Book of Psalms which the author of this particular form of the story seems to have used very freely. In Abicht's Psalm citations the references are made according to the Hebrew numbers, but Gebhardt more usefully follows the LXX. There are two differences between the editors in the matter of citation. At the end of Chapter IV Abicht repeats in a slightly different form a reference to a quotation already used in Chapter I. At the end of Chapter VIII Gebhardt's text adds a clause which is not in Abicht. With the exception of the enlarged beginning and ending in John the Deacon's translation of Evodius, the Latin narratives given in the "Acta Sanctorum" from Antwerp and Gladbach MSS., etc., are practically identical with one another, and with Lipomanus: they agree generally with the Greek texts of Gebhardt and Abicht, and with the Old Slavonic edited by Miklosich. A Latin translation of the Armenian version was communicated to Gerardus Vossius when he visited the Bishop of Ervan at Rome in 1601, and is reprinted in the "Acta Sanctorum". A German rendering of the Syriac narrative is given by W. Weyh in the "Byzantinische Zeitschrift," Vol. XXI. (1912), pp. 76-93.

These narratives supplement the earliest accounts by giving the names of the martyrs that of the local Prefect Agricolaus, and add a second trial of the saints before the Prefect and the Dux Lysias who came from Cæsarea for that purpose. After each trial there was an imprisonment with an appearance of the Saviour.

When the saints were brought into court for the third time it is related that the Devil appeared and said in the ear of Agricolans, Ἐμὸς εἶ, ἀγωνίζου. Gebhardt's 9th chapter narrates the miracle of the sun shining at the third hour of the night and warming the water. His 10th chapter introduces another appearance of the Devil, this time in human form, bewailing his defeat by the saints, and expressing his plan to prevent veneration of their relics by inducing the tyrants to burn them and throw the ashes into the river. In the 11th chapter the tyrants come and see the καπικλάριος with the saints in the lake.

These three chapters contain much additional matter which has no support in the earliest authorities. In the 12th chapter, however, Gebhardt's text reverts to the original story by relating the incident of the mother of Meletius, the youngest of the band. Though aged, she carried her still breathing son, who had been left by the executioners in the hope that he would recant, and placed him on the cart in which the dead bodies of his companions were being taken to the fire.

The 13th chapter narrates the casting of the relics into the river and their miraculous discovery. It is impossible within the limits of this article to give a complete account of the differences and similarities of the various stories, but it is useful and interesting to know that a Coptic MS. in the John Rylands Library, though containing some additions to the original story, on the whole supports the earliest account, helps to show that the later stories were amplified and embellished and assists in establishing the sound critical views of Ruinart, Tillemont, and Ceillier in the beginning of the eighteenth century and of Dufourcq, Delehaye, and Quentin in quite recent years.

NOTE.

The article contributed by the late Wilhelm Weyh to the "Byzantinische Zeitschrift" deserves special attention not only for its German rendering of the Syriac narrative, but also for its careful discussion of the relation of that form of the story to Gebhardt's text. Weyh notes a general agreement which in many sections is quite verbal, but he concludes that neither is a translation of the other on account of their numerous differences. He points out certain

additions and embellishments in the Syriac. He gives two comparative tables of the contents of certain sections in the Greek and Syriac texts proving, according to his judgment, that the Syriac reads smoothly and that there has been a dislocation of the order of incidents in the Greek.

He regards the Greek narrative as the redaction of a clumsy editor, but adds that many details in the Syriac, which are irrelevant to the sequence of the story, seem to show that in its present form it too has been edited and enlarged, while in some points it preserves the original story better than the Greek. He notes one phrase where in his view the Greek writer has misunderstood a Syriac expression, and another in which the Syriac order of words is reproduced in Greek. This seems to imply that the Syriac was the earlier and that the Greek editor made some use of it.

That the longer version of the story was also known in Egypt is proved by the British Museum Coptic MS. No. 1000. Unfortunately this is a very imperfect papyrus fragment. Mr. Crum in his Catalogue, p. 415, reproduces the text of parts of its four pages with some restorations of the numerous *lacunæ* caused by its dilapidated condition. They correspond with the end of the 4th chapter and the beginning of the 5th in Gebhardt's edition.

The traditional stories of the martyrdom received a severe criticism from Pio Franchi de Cavalieri in "Studi e Testi," No. 22, fasc. 3, pp. 64-70. The Italian critic supports his view by the supposed evidence of the "Testament of the 40 martyrs" which is most probably a later invention to expand the idea of the unity in death for which they prayed.

Görres, who has published a special work on the Licinian persecution, strongly asserts the historicity of the martyrdom, and defends his views against Schönbach (*v.* "Zeitschrift f. d. wissentschaftliche Theologie," Vol. XXI. pp. 64-70). He is supported by Keim, Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, and Ritter. The question of Christianity and military service at this period was fully discussed by Professor Calder in the "Expositor," 7th series, Vol. V., pp. 385-408.

HENRY DE CICESTRIA'S MISSAL.

By FRANCES ROSE-TROUP, F.R.Hist.S.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Guppy, the Librarian, I have been enabled to prove the *provenance* of MS. No. 24 in the John Rylands Library, and as it is too late to insert the information in the forthcoming Catalogue of Western MSS. I have put together a few notes on the subject as likely to be of interest to other bibliophiles and perhaps useful to students.

I have long been searching for books that were formerly in the library of Exeter Cathedral, and a reference in the Rev. J. Wickham Legge's volume on *The Sarum Missal* led me to investigate the history of a copy of a missal mentioned by him on page vi.

It appeared that this had been in the possession of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres; that there was an inscription on the fly-leaf (fol. i.) reading "Memoriale Henrici de Ciscestria canonici Exon. prec. lx^{s}"; and that one of that name had resigned the precentorship of the Collegiate Church of Crediton in 1264.

I was led to believe that this, with other MSS. had passed from the Earl's collection to the John Rylands Library and this proved to be the case. On inquiry I found that the first word on the "secundo folio" of this *Sarum Missal* was "induant^{r}" and turning to the inventory of Exeter Cathedral treasures, made on September 6, 1506,[1] we find among divers things "que novo scaccario continentur," the first entry, under the heading "Missalia cum aliis libris":—

"1 Missale, secundo folio, Induantur."

Now that there was no doubt about the identity of the two it was easy enough to follow up the clue obtained.

In a list of gifts that has been made in or before 1277 to the Cathedral there is this entry:—

"De dono Henrici de Cicestre: Una capa baudek cum scutis.

[1] Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 350.

Unum missale. Una cuppa deaurata pendens ultra majus altare cum corpore Dominico. Ista cuppa furata fuit et loco suo dedit Episcopus Johannes de Grandissono aliam."[1]

No fuller proof is required to identify the MSS. with Henry de Cicestria's gift, and we may not be far wrong if we assumed that it was also the same as the seventh Missal in the inventory of 1327 thus described :—

"Bonum notatum cum tropariis cum multis ymaginibus subtilibus de auro in canone, lx^{s}."[2]

for this agrees with the value entered on the fly-leaf.

To the note concerning the donor a little further information can be added. He may, with some degree of certainty, be identified with—

"Henrico, Thesaurario Criditonie et Canonico Exonie,"

the second on the list of those present on December 3, 1242, when Bishop William Briwere granted his right in land called "Mons Jocelini" in his manor of Crediton to the Reclusorium he had founded near the Chapel of St. Lawrence there.[3] The Treasurer might easily have become—like his confrères at Exeter—the Precentor in later years.

Our next glimpse of him is in 1249 when the Prior of St. James by Exeter quit-claimed to Henry de "Cirencestre," canon of Exeter, a tenement in St. Martin's Lane, the bounds of which are set out[4] and this, by other evidence obtainable, was on the west side of the lane, next to the tenement of the Vicars of Crediton and not far from the High Street. It was no doubt this same tenement that he gave to the Vicars Choral of Exeter for the support of his obit, subject to an annual charge of 16d. to the Chapeter and another of 9s. to the Hospital of St. John by the East Gate. His ordinance, or as he styles it "carta mea," is recorded in a volume belonging to the Vicars Choral, and from this we learn that each Canon present at his anniversary was to receive 2d. and each Vicar [Choral] 1d.[5] Although

[1] Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 300.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 305, as corrected by comparison with he Dean and Chapter MS. No. 3720.

[3] See Hingeston-Randolph's *Transcript of Bishop Bronescombe's Register*, p. 5.

[4] Oliver's *Monasticon Exoniensis*, p. 195.

[5] Dean and Chapter MS., No. 3675.

not dated it is evident from the names of the witnesses that it was made in 1264: we find in the calendar that his obit was celebrated on June 16. Although I have found no evidence to support it, Dr. M. R. James' suggestion that he was the Henry de Cicestria who was Chancellor of Lincoln from about 1260 to 1268 may be correct, though the date of his charter falling between those two years and containing no reference to that dignity rather militates against it.

As to the MS. itself we might hazard a guess that at some period it was in use at the altar of St. Edmund the Confessor in Exeter Cathedral as the offices for that saint, and for his translation, have been added to the missal by a fifteenth century hand. If so, this is particularly interesting as Edmund Rich, the archbishop, died in 1242 and his remains were translated in 1247. He was afterwards canonized and known as St. Edmund the Confessor. It is, therefore, quite possible that Henry de Cicestria knew him in the flesh, and it is more than probable that he was present at the dedication of the altar in what was afterwards known as St. Edmund's Chapel at the north-west corner of Exeter Cathedral, and which had been practically rebuilt by Bishop Marshall about the year 1200. We know that there was an altar so dedicated before 1283. Should this surmise be correct this Sarum missal may have been removed to the New Treasury about the middle of the fifteenth century as in 1506 the missal in St. Edmund's Chapel was one *printed on vellum*, the gift of John Major who died in 1447.

The point that is rather puzzling is that a missal of the Sarum Use, which differed from the Use of Exeter, should be entered without comment in both the library inventory and in that of the gifts, especially as we find that in 1391 Bishop Brantyngham presented an *Ordinal* of the Sarum Use to the Dean and Chapter desiring that the Cathedral services should conform thereto, but the Canons would accept it only in so far as it did not differ in the special offices for saints' days and the customs and observances which they had sworn to maintain, so the Dean presented a lengthy list of reservations.[1] Perhaps it was to make it conform to these requirements that the additions were made to our missal in the fifteenth century hand.

There can be little doubt that in the magnificent full-page illumina-

[1] See *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, IV, p. 39.

tion on *14 the figure in ecclesiastical vestments kneeling on the right and presenting a scroll to the Divine Child is intended to be a portrait of the donor.

That he was a person of wealth and position[1] seems indubitable as the value of such an elaborately illuminated missal must, at that period, have been great, and because his gilded "cuppa" was allowed to hang in such a prominent position in the Cathedral.

In conclusion I ought to mention that the spelling of his name varies, even on the same page of the MS. of the Vicars Choral, but it is most frequently that which I have adopted. There can be no question of the identity of the persons differently named, but we have no means of deciding whether he came from Chichester or Cirencester.

[1] He even appears as "Henry the Canon" in Exeter Corporation Document No. 656, dated February 2, 1253-4, as if he were important enough to be recognized by that designation alone.

ON A LOST MS. OF DR. ADAM CLARKE'S.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

In a recent number of *Notes and Queries* the inquiry was made by Mr. George Horner, the well-known Coptic scholar, as to the whereabouts of a Syriac MS. formerly in the possession of Dr. Adam Clarke, containing a Harmony of the Life and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The inquiry was pertinent enough in view of the description, for a Harmony of Syriac Gospels, such as is here described, could hardly be anything except (*a*) the lost Harmony of Tatian, or (*b*) a copy of the Syriac Gospels containing a Passion Harmony, such as often occurs in the MSS. of the Harklean Version.

The question derives an added interest when we observe that, as will presently appear, Dr. Adam Clarke (who was no mean Orientalist and Biblical Scholar) regarded this MS. as the Gem of all his collection, and attributed to it an age of at least 1000 years.

The first steps in the search for the lost MS. were taken by Mr. Horner, who, observing that Dr. Clarke's MSS. were sold by Sotheby in 1836 (Monday, 26 June and three following days), examined the sale catalogues of the firm in question as preserved in the British Museum, and reported that it was purchased by a buyer of the name of Cochran; the price was £15 15s., as Mr. Guppy reports from an examination of the sale catalogue in question. Mr. Horner was, however, wrong as to the buyer, who is entered, as Mr. Guppy points out, in the Catalogue of the British Museum as Baynes. Apparently he confused the MS. with No. 138 described as the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, which was sold to Cochran for £5 5s.[1] What became of the MS. is, at present, uncertain.

[1] This has an inserted note on p. 408 to the effect that it came from India.

"Codex MS. chartaceus in forma ut vocant 4to continet quatuor Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum idiomate et characteribus Syriacus exaratus.

Mr. Horner writes me the result of his preliminary inquiries as follows :—

"Perhaps you have already seen a copy of the catalogue of Adam Clarke's books which was published by John Murray in 1835, and compiled by his son J. B. B. Clarke of Trinity College, Cambridge. . . . I have of course asked the authorities at the Bodleian, and you must be well acquainted with all Cambridge Syriac stores. Sotheby can give no help at that distant date and Lawlor, their expert, died, as you probably know, some years past, though he was not an old man and could hardly have given any information.

"I believe that the present Thorp has nothing in common with the former bookseller who was buying Oriental books in the thirties, and I know nothing about the other buyer Cochran, mentioned in Sotheby's catalogue at the British Museum. . . ."

Mr. Horner's reference to the possibility of the lost MS. being at Cambridge does not become fruitful. There is only one MS. of Dr. Adam Clarke's collection at Cambridge, it is a Lectionary in Syriac from Southern India of no greater age than the eighteenth century, and is labelled on the back

Evang. Chald. Malab. 246.

It is described as follows in the Cambridge Catalogue of Syriac MSS. :—

"Add. 1167, a late MS. of the XVIIIth century.

"On f. 6 b is this entry :—

"Baker, *Cat.* 135, No. 882.

311 (? 3·11) 1873.

"This is evidently No. 246 in the Catalogue of the MSS. of Dr. A. Clarke (1835), and No. 14 in the Cat. of Baynes & Son (1836), where it is priced £7 7s."

The MS. came therefore from the Christians of St. Thomas in Southern India, etc., and is, no doubt, the one described in a foregoing note.

Venit ex India Orientali, ubi olim inserviebat usibus Ecclesiae Christianorum qui a St. Thoma denominantur, et in regionibus Malabaricis et Coromandelicis dispersi sunt, quique in sacris lingua Syriaca utuntur, Patriarchamque Antiochenum antistitem habent. Codex sane preciosus, cum hactenus nullos N. Foederis lingua Syriaca exaratos habuerimus codices. Character nostri codicis abludit aliquantulum a charactere impressorum librorum, quod forsan inde factum quia currente calamo scriptus est."

Well! this cannot be what we are in search of, for our MS. is No. 447 in the sale catalogue of the Clarke MSS.

On turning to the catalogue in question (I use a copy in the Cheetham Library, Manchester) we find as follows :—

"No. 447. The Life and Passion of our Blessed Lord in Syriac. Imp. 4° in stamped Russia, pp. 368.

"Collected from the four Evangelists : one of the old Evangelistaria : it is *a kind of harmony of the Gospels*, giving our Lord's life in the words of the Evangelists."

The following is a note in the handwriting of Mr. Edward Ives of Titchfield, Hants :—

"Turkey, July 2nd, Sunday, 1758.

"At a poor Christian town called *Camalisk Gawerkoe*, situated about six hours' journey S. of Mosul (ancient *Nineveh*), this MS. I bought of a Deacon belonging to the old Christian Church there ; and the town, he informed me, was once the seat of a Christian Bishop."

"It is written in the ancient *Estrangelian* (a Syriac uncial) character, in a very bold hand : this MS. was much damaged and in ruins, but it has been most beautifully inlaid and arranged by Dr. Clarke, and now forms one of the best preserved and most ancient Syriac MSS. extant, being probably upwards of 1000 years old. It formerly belonged to Jacob Bryant."

It appears then, that the list of owners ofthe lost MS. is a series :—

Edward Ives.
Jacob Bryant.
Adam Clarke.
? Baynes.

Bryant is a well-known scholar of the early nineteenth century, famous for his outspoken scepticism with regard to the siege of Troy, which he believed to be altogether mythical. He need not detain us, for we have a complete account of the journey of Edward Ives, on which the MS. was purchased, as well as some supplementary information concerning it, which will relieve us from the necessity of any further research. The title of the book is as follows :—

"A Voyage from England to India in the year MDCCLIV., etc. also,

"A Journey from Persia to England, by an unusual route, etc. By Edward Ives, Esq. : formerly surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship, and of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies.

"4° London (printed for Edward and Charles Dilly MDCCLXXIII.)"

The following extracts will suffice us :—

"p. 318. About five o'clock we came to a poor town inhabited by *Christians*, called *Camalisk Gawerkoe*, which, I was told, means *Christian Gawerkoe*. The chief of it informed me that it was once a city, the seat of a *Chaldean* bishop, and larger than Mosul is at present, but that it suffered great persecution, and was almost entirely destroyed, when *Mahometanism* first took place in this part of the world. . . .

"The present inhabitants (as we are informed) speak the original Chaldean languages, as well as the Turkish and Arabian. At a little distance from the town they show you the tomb of St. Barbara, who, according to the *Papas* account, died a martyr by the hand of her own father, a *Pagan*, because she persisted to believe in Jesus Christ. . . .

"Mr. Doidge bought of one of the inhabitants, the *Old Testament*, as he supposed, for the seller called it an history of the *Prophets*, and one of the Deacons sold me an old Manuscript, which on the word of a *Christian* he declared to be the *Gospel*. Of the truth of these assertions neither of us is the least able to judge, we only intended them as curiosities for our learned friends in *England*."

A foot-note is added to the following effect :—

"A Specimen of the MS. purchased by the author, having been since laid before Dr. *Morton* and Mr. *Ridley* of the Royal Society, they both decisively pronounced it to be the old or simpler *Syriac Version* of the *New Testament*.

"An extract hereof is in the annexed plate."

From the copper-plate in question it is easy to see that the MS. is a Syriac Lectionary of the usual type. No doubt the Harmony referred to is a description of the Gospels read through the circle of the year *plus* the Passion Harmony of the Harkleian Version (a version with which Mr. Ridley was familiar).

The script as shown in the plate is of no great age, nor need we spend any further time over the MS. and its present location. Mr.

Ives has told us all we need to know on the matter. Dr. Mingana, my colleague, to whom the neighbourhood where the MS. was purchased is quite familiar, knows the Church of St. Barbara quite well; he has often ministered there and describes it as four hours' journey to the S. of Mosul. The name which Ives gives as Camalisk, Dr. Mingana says is Karmles.

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